What Latin Americans Want *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Paying for Education

Christopher Jencks

The World in Vogue

Stanley Kauffmann

E. M. Forster

Gilbert A. Harrison

House Rules

Murray Kempton

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Stop Lights

★ All the business writers are saying that 1964 will be a good year and it may well be, for business, the stock market, the middle class, and you and me. The stark fact is, however, that the economy isn't creating enough new jobs to take care of new workers and the poor devils replaced by automation.

President Kennedy saw this and, in July, 1962, proposed a tax cut to stimulate the economy; 18 months later it has only got as far as Senator Byrd's committee. The Kennedy program included much-needed reforms. These didn't appeal to businessmen, however, who thought they could drive a better bargain. Joined by a lot of sincere but gullible people they used the stop lights of an antiquated Congress to delay the tax cut because, they said, (a) there is already a deficit; (b) Federal spending should be cut, too; and there is a balance-of-payments deficit.

As one result of this, 1963 ended with higher unemployment (5.9 percent) than when it started.

Americans sneer at economists. The United States is 20 years behind the rest of the world in applying modern economic techniques in controlling the business cycle. Take the current example of Britain. Like Kennedy, the British government saw a sluggish economy and proposed a shot-in-the-arm tax cut. With the tools of party responsibility and a modern parliamentary system it put the cut into effect this year, swiftly and smoothly. Note that it did this though it had a budget deficit and a balance-of-payments deficit, and that instead of cutting government spending it accompanied the tax cut with a 7 percent *increase* in government spending. (The United Kingdom tax cut was about proportional to Kennedy's proposed cut, considering Britain's smaller budget.)

British unemployment has dropped; ours has risen. A whole series of other factors shows that the British move is a success. It is a sad commentary that the US can't take remedial steps until there has been a disaster. Well, we may end up by getting a disaster, as well.

Meantime, look at the Kennedy bill again. It started with a lot of reforms.

The US income tax system depends on self-discipline. The whole edifice would collapse if taxpayers got the idea that others were successfully cheating. What sustains the system is the belief that the next man up the ladder is assessed – and pays – more.

Even the most superficial inquiry, however, shows huge loopholes. Official Treasury figures put into the record recently by Senator Douglas show that 20 people with adjusted gross incomes in 1959 of over $500,000 paid no taxes at all. Fifteen with incomes over $1 million each didn't pay a cent. One man with $28.7 million in 1960 went scot free. How did they get away with it? Loopholes.

What Made Texas Rich?

★ The granddaddy of all loopholes is the 27½ percent oil depletion allowance that made Texas rich. In one year alone, Treasury figures show, $3.3 billion of corporate income poured through this single loophole, untaxed.

Barry Goldwater bewails the progressive income tax as "immoral" and calls the upper rate (91 percent) "confiscatory." Actually, any millionaire who takes that rate seriously ought to have his piggybank examined.

The following figures aren't guesswork, they're official: Senator Gore asked the Treasury how many people *paid* the 91 percent rate on real income, and the Office of Tax Analysis answered him, "Nobody," repeat, "Nobody." Loopholes make the rate inapplicable; the thing is a sieve.

The Treasury says the typical rate of the $1 million-a-year man was about 26 percent in 1960. That was less than the chap who got $50,000 a year (and who probably didn't have as good a lawyer); his rate – 28.5 percent.

Mr. Kennedy was wrong to think that the rich would be so eager for tax cuts that they would swallow the reforms that ended loopholes. The loopholes, in many instances, are more valuable to them than the cuts. And so virtually all the reforms are dropped. The pill was sugar-coated, and Congress has licked off the sugar.

Are we malicious? Bernard Nossiter, in *The Progressive*, says the cut promises "the most massive redistribution of income in the US since World War II – and in precisely the opposite direction of that equalizing experience." And so on.

That puts us on a spot. We think the pending bill is unfair. But we also think that no tax cut at all would bring a recession in which unemployment might jump to 7 percent or more. Yet if we have to take this measure we are going to say, anyway, that we think it is a rich man's bill.

Last year corporations got an initial $2.2 billion tax cut (investment credit and liberalized depreciation), and now the new bill promises them another $2.3 billion: a double lollipop.

Individuals would get cuts of $8.8 billion (over two years) but about 45 percent of this would go to incomes over $10,000. We don't dislike these people a bit, in fact we love them. But they are the ones who invest money in corporations that *make* goods; what the economy needs right now is people who *buy* goods – factories are 15 percent idle already.

Abject Poor

★ The Committee on Pockets of Poverty after a two-year study, finds 20 million abject poor in the country. They pay no income tax so get no tax cut. Federal spending would aid these people, but it is part of the self-imposed Kennedy-Johnson bargain that, in order to get a tax cut, Federal spending must be curbed. The reforms are dead but the no-spending pledge remains. We say, nuts to it! We are suspicious when Chamber of Commerce head Neilan begins lauding Johnson.

A tax cut? We need it, bad as it is. But as Leon Keyserling testified, if he had been assigned to write the worst possible bill he couldn't have come up with a better try than the pending one.

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Latin American Odds

The new Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas C. Mann, will do well to take a hard look at what seems to have been a pet theory of his predecessor, Edwin Martin, that the military in Latin America are often the best men to put down the Reds and uplift the people. 1963 showed there were two things wrong with this theory. The influence of Castro and Communism turned out to be on the wane, so that the usual excuse of the military when they overthrow civilian governments, that they are saving the country from going Communist, was seen to be even more threadbare than usual. Secondly, after seizing power the military men proved not a bit less inept than the civilians. As far as the real problems of the hemisphere were concerned, the military takeovers were at best irrelevant and more usually were setbacks to progress.

The notion that military coups south of the border are just what the doctor ordered seems to have derived from the experience of El Salvador, where Colonel Julio Adalberto Rivera seized power but then ran for President on a platform of wholehearted support of the social and economic reforms sponsored by the Alliance for Progress; whereupon he was overwhelmingly elected and, moreover, proceeded to carry out his campaign promises – building schools and yet managing to balance the budget. The makers of the military coup in Ecuador also showed themselves to be earnest reformers, but unfortunately such has not been the case in the other five countries where the military seized power recently. In Honduras and the Dominican Republic, duly elected (and pro-American) governments that were thoroughly democratic and were attempting to institute badly needed landowning and other reforms were overthrown by military plotters, who thus far have conspicuously failed to justify their seizure of power by doing much for their fellow countrymen save shooting those they don't approve of. In Guatemala, the new regime seems neither better nor worse than the one it forcibly replaced. And in Argentina and Peru, the military after knocking down civilian governments merely milled about for a while, then stepped back out of the picture, leaving things in about the same muddle they found when they grabbed the reins.

One of the first acts of the Johnson Administration towards Latin America was to extend recognition to the juntas in Honduras and in the Dominican Republic. Though this was done on their promise to hold elections by 1965 and though aid remains cut off, it

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made many Latin Americans feel uncertain about what to expect from President Johnson. The appointment of Mr. Mann as Special Assistant to the President, as well as Assistant Secretary of State, may have been intended to reassure them. Now the Administration should follow through by making absolutely clear that it rejects the so-called "Martin doctrine."

Latin America wants both democracy and reform, even if Latin America's temporary rulers often do not. The model is not the junta that dumped Juan Bosch and the democratically elected Dominican government, but the government of Venezuela that held free elections despite terrorist threats. The United States promised Latin American countries aid amounting to about a billion dollars a year. The purpose of the aid is to help democratic governments to carry out social and economic reforms; it is not its purpose to bolster any regime that is anti-Communist irrespective of whether it is also anti-democratic.

To what extent is aid succeeding? The US and Pope John have made the idea of reform thoroughly respectable in Latin America. Most everyone says he is now for it, including even the military, though they still tend to yell "Communist!" at any politician who tries to do more than talk about it. Last year US aid was used, in part, to build over 8,000 classrooms and to train eight times as many teachers, as well as to provide 9 million school-children, hungry for both food and knowledge, with meals and with schoolbooks. The aid also helped to provide hospitals and houses, village wells and municipal water systems, and to finance Latin American production of steel and of automobiles. That was on the purely material side. Far more important for the long-term future, however, the aid induced Latin American governments to begin doing their share, by instituting tax and land reforms.

It is going to be a long, uphill battle. Venezuela, which has the advantage of the highest income per head in Latin America, balances its budget and achieves balance in its foreign trade. But Argentina and Brazil, which account for over half the output as well as over half the population of Latin America, suffer respectively from seeming stagnation and dizzy inflation, and have huge debt and deficit problems. So do a good many other Latin American countries.

Since 1961, the US has doubled and trebled its aid to Latin America. But Congress is now cutting back, and about 40 percent of the financing goes to putting patches on some countries' burst budgets. Roughly $200 million has gone to provide low-cost housing, but meantime a lot of the Latin Americans' own money has been going into the building of luxury apartment houses that only the rich can afford.

There are many such anomalies, and they are sure to be seized upon by the critics of aid, especially the ones who, before Castro, denied there was any Latin American problem, but who now declare that the aid should quickly solve all problems or not be given at all. The critics are likely to dismiss with impatience such complex greys as that Brazil, despite or because of its inflation, is rapidly industrializing and has a high rate of growth, and that while Argentina's output has dropped, this may be less suggestive for the future than its high investment level and high literacy rate. They are blind to everything but black, white, or red.

With or without aid, Latin America is unlikely either to live up to our airiest expectations or to fulfill the critics' deepest dread. What the aid can do is to serve as a guard-rail, against chaos rather than against Communism, on a most perilous road. For the problem of Latin America, most simply expressed, is how to get from televised reading lessons for illiterates that now are being made available, to integrated economies, transport networks, common currencies, and federal government, which the future seems to hold in store. That future is obviously distant. The 8,000-odd classrooms and the 65,000 newly trained teachers that US aid helped provide last year compare painfully with Latin America's estimated need, yearly, for 100,000 classrooms just to keep pace with the countries' exploding school populations.

The Johnson Administration should continue the aid program for Latin America that was outlined at the Punta del Este conference in August 1961. At least by its example, it can encourage private US capital to continue flowing to Latin America; the stream has shown disturbing signs of drying up, out of fear of "socialism." The Administration ought to resist the temptation to pull the tender shoot of aid up by its roots every so often, to see if it is still growing. More productive than "reorganizing" the aid program would be to make quite sure that the program enlists the active cooperation of such outstanding Latin Americans as Dr. Raul Prebisch of Argentina, the former executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. For most of the work of implementing the program of the Alliance for Progress is going to have to be done by the Latin Americans, with only marginal advice from outside.

Nevertheless, the US should use all possible means to join Western Europe, Canada, and Japan in the aid effort; and, if Brazil for instance decides to accept help from Russia as well, there ought to be no panic. Soviet aid is no more likely to subvert Brazil than it has subverted India; and better Soviet than Chinese aid perhaps. If the Johnson Administrative is big enough to do those things, the task of bringing all of Latin America into the twentieth century will still be huge. But how can Mann do better than by outfacing fearful odds?

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Peace Offensive

The President, through a White House spokesman, says that he wants an "unrelenting" peace offensive, and that he wants it to begin now. The way the Kennedy strategy for 1964 had been shaping up, the plan was apparently to concentrate almost entirely on domestic issues for the purposes of the campaign. As far as the international scene was concerned, the idea seemed to be to row through the election year resting on the laurels of the test-ban treaty, and to hope that Khrushchev or Castro would not rock the boat.

But the test-ban treaty was, Senator Goldwater notwithstanding, one of the most applauded accomplishments of the Kennedy Administration last year. It and it alone gave zip and a sense of fulfillment to President Kennedy's penultimate swing through a section of the nation. The cheers that greeted Mr. Kennedy on that trip owed much to the treaty, as the enthusiastic responses to every mention of the treaty that he made in his speeches proved. It seems that Mr. Johnson got the message, and that with characteristic forthrightness not unmixed with political craft, he intends to shape his actions and words accordingly. Seen in this light, the talks with Dr. Erhard, the new Chancellor of West Germany, at the LBJ Ranch in Texas, may glint with more gold than quartz, and the communique that was issued at the end of them may be somewhat less of a hodgepodge of platitudes and seeming contradictions than some old cynics declared it to be.

For instance, the communique has been laughed at for mentioning in the same breath the possibility of improved relations with the Soviet Union, and insistence on the reunification of Germany as well as on the closest ties between West Germany and NATO. The latter two items seem to contradict each other, and in any case the Soviet Union is resolutely opposed to them both. But the NATO conference also approved the idea of improved relations with Russia; and the reunification of Germany is not seriously entertained by the West as an objective of immediate practical politics, and is not ruled out of court by the Russians as an ultimate goal. What is immediately happening, or seems to be, is that the West Germans now that they are no longer under the shadow of Dr. Adenauer's inflexibility are less disposed to be the rock on which all Western efforts to probe the intentions of the Russians have come to grief.

Oddly, what still remains to unfreeze is some American opinion. The extreme nervousness with which the State Department greeted the negotiations over keeping an opening in the Wall, conducted by the staunchly pro-West Mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt, and an East German official, shows how close to the surface old fears still are. If there is really going to be a peace offensive, as President Johnson has said, then there has to be a willingness to consider fresh ideas, such as Senator Pell's suggestions for the beginning of a settlement in Europe, by Western recognition of East Germany and the Oder-Neisse boundary lines of Germany and Poland, in exchange for Russian and international guarantees buttressing Western defense of Berlin's integrity. Such plans may not be endorsed; but it ought to be possible for them to be discussed, without someone yelling "sell-out"; just as Castro's hint last week of co-existence requires rational examination, and as China should cease to be a forbidden five-letter word.

Goldwater's Chances

William Jennings Bryan tried three times to capture the Presidency by winning the electoral votes of the Southern, desert, and mountain states. It didn't work, and won't in 1964 for Barry Goldwater, because national elections are won where the people are, not where they are not.

There is almost no conceivable combination that adds up to a Goldwater victory. To illustrate, let us make the very far-fetched assumption that Goldwater carries all of the once "solid South" – which neither Eisen-

"He's My Boy"

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hower nor Nixon did – (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina); then add Florida, Maryland and all of the Southwestern and Rocky Mountain states to the Goldwater column (Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, Wyoming); and for good measure, let us allow Goldwater Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont. We then reach a total of 212 electoral votes, out of 270 needed.

There is no way to measure the political force of a mystique, which is what Goldwaterism is. But it can be said that most of the recent polls of Republican leaders mean little. Thus, in polls of Republican county chairmen, Cook County in Chicago and a county in Kansas each have one vote; but when ballots are actually cast, Cook County is worth many times more than a small, farm county in Kansas.

Moreover, the pre-Johnson assumption that Goldwater could carry most, if not all, of the Old Confederacy is now a pipe-dream. Indeed, in the last month of his life, though Mr. Kennedy ran behind Goldwater in the South, over 40 percent still preferred him; and the January Gallup Poll of the South showed 75 percent favoring Johnson, with 20 percent for Goldwater – and only 5 percent undecided.

House Rules

Was it not Mrs. Oliver Wendell Holmes who described Washington as a city full of successful men and the women they married before they were successful? It is certainly a city conspicuous for successful men who were seated in the House of Representatives before they achieved success.

And yet there was the late Clem Miller of California, an activist Democrat, who served only two terms in the House but wrote about it with a sense for its atmosphere which persuades one that he might have been happy to grow old there. Miller had a special delight in the House Democratic cloakroom:

"Talk among the leather couches is general banter, idle trivia of the most ordinary sort. Everyone finds his way to the leather seats of the cloakroom at one time or another for a moment's respite, to collect and compose himself. To some it is an accustomed station, where they will repair with friends to talk endlessly of remembrances past. . . . *One absorbs the feeling that this is quite the ordinary America with its narrowness, its humanity, its immediacy.*"

Congressman Miller had caught the source of the special and, one would hope, transient charm the House holds for any newcomer to Washington. The city has no local elected government; and that is a terrible deficiency, not because the government it has is so much worse than what prevails in other cities, but because, without local politicians, there is so little local color. The House is the closest thing we have to the City Council; it is ordinary, and immediate, which means unprincipled, and it evokes that homesickness for small towns which, in Washington, can overcome even persons who had spent all their prior lives in big cities.

One drops in on the Rules Committee, to find Howard Worth Smith flanked by Clarence Brown and William Collmer and gazing with absolute, courteous nonattention at a Congressman who has come from the Labor Committee to ask permission to bring a manpower training bill to the floor.

The petitioner reads aloud the first page of his prepared statement on the merits of his bill. He finishes, picks up another page and begins again. It takes awhile in that atmosphere for anyone to notice that he is reciting the first page over again, having picked up its carbon by mistake.

He knows, he says, what it is to be unemployed and without skills because he began in the steel mill in 1913. Judge Smith interposes that *he* began behind the plough in 1904. "There are those," Congressman Collmer observes, "who say that both of them should have stayed there." There are no off-the-record asides in the Rules Committee, because there is no record. Judge Smith rouses himself to his appointed task, which is to get the most he can for his prejudices within the limits of his powers. The Rules Committee is charged with keeping order in the procedures of the House; but Howard Smith knows that it is his duty to judge a bill not on its place in the calendar but on its merits as a proposition, and he could not conceive that any bill originating in the Labor Committee could have the smallest real merit.

Judge Smith cannot absolutely forbid, but only delay. But that is an advantage he can press with infinite

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delicacy; the petitioners end by promising an amendment which will deplete their bill as much as the Judge can practically hope. Then he lets them go with what sound like assurances that he will write down the number of their bill on the soiled old file card which he keeps in his coat pocket and which is all the record the House has of the bills which he is inclined to feel are fit for the light of day.

The House is seldom noticed by journalists, since their editors are impatient with rural sociology. Most of the time we must make do with the findings of professors, who will go wherever they can get a grant.* Still, Congressmen are grateful to persons who take them seriously and academics are trained to take everyone seriously, a lesson we journalists would do well to learn from them. Even Congressman Miller, who was wonderfully free of false pride, found newspapermen difficult to take; he remembers a dinner where he had to endure the "most biting cross-examination" from a newspaperman who "was supremely happy, putting a Congressman in his place."

But Congressman Miller could speak plainly enough about his colleagues. "We have seated all kinds of men in the past – ," he remembered, "men guilty of fraud, felony and every kind of irregularity." He made that observation in the course of explaining why the House had seated Dale Alford, of Arkansas, whom the White Citizens Council had elected over Brooks Hayes, a valued House elder, in the frenzy over Little Rock. A majority of the House, Miller believed, would have preferred not to seat Alford, whose election was clouded by fraud charges. The reasons why Alford arrived so generally unpopular in the House are instructive: "A lot of Southern Congressmen are privately unhappy," Miller reported. "Every district has an extremist who can outshout any incumbent."

Alford then was so disturbing a portent of what could happen to sensible men if the electorate began taking its bad principles seriously that, by common consent, he was given the meagerest possible committee assignment. The manner of his recovery is also instructive. "Two years later," Professor Nicholas Masters tells us in "Perspectives," "after he had voted with the leadership to 'pack' the Rules Committee, he was given a place on the Appropriations Committee."

Alford had adjusted. In the House, Miller noticed, "the qualities of public show, of defiance, of bravery are looked at askance. . . . Power is in silence, in committee, in personal relations. . . . There is the compelling need for respect – to be held in respectful esteem by your colleagues. Aside from your seniority on committee – and to begin with you have no seniority – this respect by your colleagues is almost your only leverage." How to win respect?

Dale Alford had, in comparative silence, managed to define himself as a "responsible" legislator, according to the image of the House leadership, which is of a man, says Masters, who "is politically pliant, but not without conviction."

"A key criterion" for a seat on the Appropriations Committee is, Masters finds, "a demonstrable record of, or an assumed predisposition toward, legislative give-and-take." Alford chose a particularly strategic time to demonstrate his capacity for accommodation; Speaker Rayburn needed every vote he could get for the Rules Committee enlargement in 1961; Alford came over and had his reward.

The House reconvenes this month with its public reputation darkened. There is more talk from more variant public quarters than usual about the need to do something about its practices. But one comes away from the literature on the House with affection for its members and absolutely no hope for their reform. The trouble is not rules but customs; the puzzle, after discovering the customs, is not why the House is so bad but why it is not worse.

"It is a commonplace," said Miller, summarizing every other authority, "that the work of Congress is done in committee. . . . Congress is a collection of committees that come together in a Chamber periodically to approve one another's actions."

A change in the rules might limit the powers of the committee chairman, but it could not alter the particular cast of the major committees, which will have, for years to come, the shape fashioned for them by the late Speaker Rayburn.

There are, along with the esteem of his colleagues, two standards a Democrat must meet to get a seat on the House Ways and Means Committee. Masters reports that those Democratic members of Ways and Means he interviewed "frequently mentioned" that assignments to the committee "often hinge" on the candidate's assurance that he will oppose any reduction in the oil depreciation tax allowance. In deference to another of Mr. Rayburn's prejudices, Clapp's subjects often reminded him, every Democrat on Ways and Means was cleared as a supporter of reciprocal trade. On the other side, opposition to reciprocal trade is a criterion for Republican assignment to the Committee.

The Democrats confined assignments to the Public

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*Three recent works which prop the above reflections on the House are: *The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It*, by Charles L. Clapp (Brookings; $6.00); *New Perspectives on the House of Representatives*, by various academic hands, under the editorship of Robert L. Peabody and Nelson W. Polsby (Rand-McNally), here identified as "Perspectives"; and *Uses of Power*, edited by Alan Westin (Harcourt, Brace; $2.95). Clem Miller's *Member of the House* (1962) is still available as a Scribner's paperback ($2.00).

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Works Committee to members who were for the St. Lawrence Seaway and Republicans to those who were against it. In 1959, Mr. Rayburn set up the rule that no new Democrat would be allowed on the Education and Labor Committee who was not satisfactory to the AFL-CIO. One Labor and Education Committee member told Clapp that he earned his seat "when some labor lobbyists came to me and asked whether I would go on if they could get me on. They went ahead and got me on. I neither asked for it nor lifted a finger for it." It might satisfy the enlightened to know that the Democratic delegation on Education and Labor must pass George Meany, if only they could forget that this standard provides no members who have more than a secondary interest in Education.

"The most important single factor in distributing assignments" to all House committees except Ways and Means and Appropriations, says Masters, "is whether a particular place will insure the re-election of the member in question." Bob Wilson, of California, told Clapp that "one factor of great significance" in his selection for the Armed Services Committee was "that my district has many military installations in it and thus is a logical one to be represented on the committee." Agricultural Committee assignments are parceled out to representatives of Democratic commodities (tobacco and cotton) and of Republican ones (corn and hogs).

The House, then, functions as a trade association for little enterprisers, and it depends for its life on those small hypocrisies and careful manners which people need to live together in small towns. It is not what it was – few small towns are – and the blame for the rancors and the neuroses which now afflict it is generally traced to the death of Sam Rayburn and the prior demotion of Joe Martin with whom he lived so long in accommodation. Those of us who deplore accommodation should not overlook the unfortunate results of its breach when Martin was deposed. The Republicans replaced him with Charles Halleck, a pitiless partisan who promised them passion and action. The House only recently collapsed into the most indecorous of brawls when Charlie Halleck held his troops in Washington with the Democrats peacefully trailing to their holidays, and suddenly and treasonably stabbed the foreign aid compromise. The Republicans had delivered themselves to a street fighter; in Charles Halleck the institution of the House confronted those dark passions which are the underside of every small town and which are meant to be kept from public sight.

There was a moment, while Halleck was running loose, when one of his elders tried to remind him of what he was doing to them all. "The question," this voice of reason said, "is whether we shall do this today or whether we shall do it tomorrow at the inconvenience of a great many people. And when the eyes of the country are upon the Congress, I do not think we can justify further delay on this matter."

That old moderate was Howard Worth Smith. A reader of the literature on the House is struck by how often Congressmen who object to his every principle mention Judge Smith, with Mr. Rayburn gone, as the colleague whose talents as a legislator represent the ultimate refinement. He is one of them because he understands that the one essential quality is to be pliable and to accept the best you can get. When Halleck was finally beaten down, Judge Smith, of course, voted with him against foreign aid; but, until then, he understood that the thing to do was to get a vote so the public would stop looking and go away. The Judge is a man of the institution; he has a civic sense; he knows that nothing damages a nice, quiet little town more than getting its brawls into the metropolitan papers.

MURRAY KEMPTON

FOREIGN REPORTS

INDIA: *The Seventh Fleet*

★ General Maxwell Taylor has come and gone, trailing clouds of controversy, but somewhat the wiser for his brief experience. At least he knows now how the Seventh Fleet has churned up passions and prejudices which have sunk deep into Indian public attitudes.

In specific terms the visit did not yield much for either Delhi or Washington. Any impression that the General might have hoped to gather that India was giving up the project whereby she is to receive MIGs has been denied him. On the contrary, since his departure it has been made known that the Russians have agreed to make all the improvements India has asked for in the MIG's design. Similarly, if India was hoping to get from the General promises of more air assistance, she has been disappointed. All that General Taylor has added to the gifts announced by his predecessors is patrolling of the Indian Ocean by the Seventh Fleet, which has done as much as the joint exercises themselves to rattle all the bones of that old skeleton, nonalignment. Many Indians believe that the Sino-Indian dispute is the reason for the Fleet's appearance. There are other reasons. They include the maintenance of stability in the Indian Ocean, which is threatened at one end by Indonesian exuberance, at the other by the constant skirmishing on the Arabian peninsula, in the middle by relations between India and Pakistan, and all over by the virtual British withdrawal and the Chinese presence which in one way or another is ubiquitous. Even those who think only of Chinese pressures on India have been given the chance to see that any re-

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straint which the fleet can exercise on Indonesia or Pakistan – to the latter the fleet is an obvious hint that land bases are no longer indispensible for America – will help India by keeping in check diversionary intentions by China's new found friends.

As soon as reports of the fleet's intentions appeared, two kinds of storm arose in the Indian Press. One denounced the move as imperialist intimidation, an affront to Asian self-respect, a provocation to the Soviets, a new gust of the Cold War, a Dullesian rape of non-alignment which post-Kennedy Washington would never have attempted if India had not given the impression through her own weak-kneed policies that she was ready to lurch into any military arms that would receive her. The other kind saw this as another example of chivalrous America rushing to protect India against Chinese appetites; it dismissed all misgivings in India as part of Mr. Nehru's ingratitude.

ISRAEL: *Pumping Out the Jordan*

★ The scarcity of water has bedevilled human relations in the Holy Land ever since Abraham and the Philistines quarrelled over those obscure water rights in the Negev some 3,500 years ago.

Israel's 40 inches of annual rainfall in the north dwindles to 1-8 inches in the Negev desert in the South. Consequently, 85 percent of Israel's 2.3 million people live in the north. Israel wants to irrigate the arid Negev because the experts estimate that a possible population of three million people by 1970 will exhaust present water resources.

The Jordan River flows within Israeli territory for only a third of its total length. Two of its three main sources are in Syria and Lebanon. After leaving Israel it enters Jordanian territory for its last long plunge down to the Dead Sea.

In 1953 President Eisenhower named Eric Johnston his personal representative to work out a comprehensive water development plan for the four countries. Israel accepted the Johnston plan in 1955 but the Arab League vetoed it.

The Arab countries refuse to participate in a scheme that would help develop and expand Israel's economy, so as to absorb more immigrants. Israel has proceeded to implement its portion of the plan, while saying it is going to utilize for itself only the quota of water Johnston would have allotted to it. This cuts no ice in Damascus or Cairo. The issue is not about water, but about politics. Besides sand, water is the commodity the Arabs possess in enormous abundance. With the Nile and the Euphrates they have between them a water potential about 500 times as large as all the waters of the Jordan River.

Nearing completion is a cross-country conduit of canals, tunnels and pipelines which will carry annually 320 million cubic meters of water from Lake Tiberias to the coastal plain and the Negev. The Israelis hope to start pumping the first quantities of water to the Negev during the first half of this year. The Jordanians have meantime quietly diverted one of the Jordan tributaries, the Yarmuk, for their own irrigation scheme called the Ghor Plan. Israeli farmers in the Beth Shean Valley were deprived of their traditional sources of water by the Jordanian action.

A Lebanese paper recently wrote that Egypt is going to oust the UN Emergency Force from the Gaza Strip and Sinai if Israel starts pumping Jordan water down to the Negev. But the danger for peace is along the Syrian border, where there may be more shooting if Israel starts diverting some of the Jordan water southwards. An all-out Syrian attack on Israel seems unlikely. The Syrian commander along the Israel border has been replaced three times in 10 months, due to internal party strife in Syria. But there could be intensified guerrilla warfare on the Syrian border.

SOVIET UNION: *Girl Trouble*

★ Protests by African students in the Soviet Union come as no surprise to observers who have followed the frequently abortive Kremlin flirtation with them. African students are a coveted prize in the Cold War, wooed by Russia, the West, and now by China as well. But the African students in Moscow have been wooing Soviet girls and have been materially helped by allowances from the Soviet government that are twice or thrice as much as Russian students get. Many Russian girls have favored Africans because they thought that this was in keeping with the foreign policy of the Soviet government.

But while this makes Soviet males jealous it does not keep the Africans happy for they have their own grievances that having nothing to do with female companionship. They feel trapped in Russia and complain of heavy doses of Marxist indoctrination and of being exploited for propaganda purposes. They say the Soviet authorities refuse to give them exit visas until their four or five year study terms are up, and are reluctant to let them visit Western Europe in the summer lest they draw unfavorable comparisons.

To Africans on either side of the Iron Curtain, the pasture of education has a way of looking greener on the other side. An American student at Moscow University has said that if the US really wants to win friends in Africa, it ought to encourage as many of them as possible to go to Moscow for a full course of study – and of disillusionment.

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AMERICAN INNOCENCE IN THE HALLS OF THE VATICAN

Intrigue in the Council

Rome

Something went very sour at the second session of the Second Vatican Council. The unexpected optimism that was so strong after the first session, and the hope that was so serene after the first two weeks of the second, have been replaced by pessimism.

The fundamental struggle at the Second Vatican Council has been the attempt to bring about an institutional reform *in Rome*. Without a change in Rome, any efforts toward the renewal and reform of Catholicism in the world must inevitably be short-lived and partial. For it will fall to Roman post-council commissions to create the practical machinery for turning the speeches of the council fathers into action. As Archbishop Eugene D'Souza of India said recently, "If a few men can frustrate the will of 2,300 council fathers while we are here in Rome, what will they do when we are away?"

Of the two actual legislative fruits of this second session, one, the constitution on Catholic worship, is almost entirely due to the labors of Pope John's session in 1962, and the other, the decree on the mass media, is according to a favorable interpretation mediocre and, to an unfavorable one, dangerous. Only Pope Paul's "smokescreen" – the trip to Palestine – averted the eyes of the world from the fact that powerful factions among the council fathers so bitterly opposed the documents on the Jews and on religious liberty that they stole them out of the hands of a majority. The theft is being boldly defended on the ground that the non-Italian bishops have been hoodwinked by a few well-organized Germans and Frenchmen into supporting reforms they wouldn't have dreamed of supporting otherwise. The cure is to get the council out of Rome as speedily as possible. The means is to convince Pope Paul of two things: (1) the whole idea of a council is a great mistake, the greatest danger the Church has undergone in many centuries; (2) if it continues – and particularly if it says any more about openness, freedom to criticize, and religious liberty – Italy will inevitably be lost to the Communists. Does Pope Paul want to take the responsibility for heterodoxy and the downfall of his native land?

After more than a week of behind-the-scenes wrestling with the Vatican Secretary of State and a number of dissenters among the Italian bishops themselves, Cardinals Siri, Ruffini, Antoniutti, and Ottaviani succeeded in producing, while the council was still in session, an anti-Communist statement as a "message to the Italian people." The message was a great embarrassment to bishops in Africa and India, whose people could easily be led to believe that "Italian bishops" meant "the whole Church." It was also an embarrassment to the Vatican, and both Cardinal Lercaro's Catholic daily in Bologna, *L'Avvenire d'Italia* and the Vatican's *L'Osservatore Romano* speedily published articles to put a "religious" rather than a "political" face on the message.

The gap between the majority and the minority, a gap both of doctrine and of respect for moral and parliamentary decencies, showed up again in the questions of the Jews and religious liberty. When Bishop Emile de Smedt of Belgium read the introduction to the document on religious liberty, he received the greatest ovation St. Peter's basilica heard in either session of the council. But only two weeks remained until the end of the session. A vote was to be taken shortly on all five chapters of the document on ecumenism, of which that on the Jews and that on religious liberty were chapters four and five.

At this point, a "gentleman's agreement" was arranged, to separate chapters four and five from the first three chapters in the first general ballot, and then to vote in "the next few days" (three times repeated publicly) on four and five. The express purpose of this separation was to win as high a vote as possible on the first three chapters.

But "the next few days" never came for chapters four and five. Bishop Charles H. Helmsing of Kansas City asked on the second-last day of the session: "Why not [vote] now?" What the Americans, who wanted this vote very badly, did not know was that the minority opposed to religious liberty was laughing at them: poor children, who actually believed a vote would be taken if they were patient enough.

Meanwhile, phone calls were going out to the avant-garde Latin American bishops and others committed to bringing the vote on religious liberty to the floor. The minority had gotten to the Pope and convinced him that the doctrine on religious liberty, if not heretical, is absolutely dangerous in Italian politics. Bankers and politicians called on the Pope: The Italian population is so instructed in their faith that a decree on religious liberty might be interpreted among them as permission to vote Communist.

The phone calls succeeded; by December 2, the last working day of the council, Cardinal Bea was able to tell the council fathers that chapters four and five had

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not been withdrawn, after all. He said that there simply was not time to discuss them – which was true, then. The moderators who had promised a vote on religious liberty kept a glum silence.

The key, then, to the ability of the majority party at the council to legislate their clear will lies in the future with the American bishops, who, next to the Italians, form the largest hierarchy.

But very few of the phone calls of the 24th went to American bishops; apparently they are too trusting, too out of touch with the many ways through which Providence works at a council of oppositely convinced men. "My whole attitude of life has been one of, we might say, our American procedure and law," Bishop Helmsing said, "so that I think a man is innocent until he is proved guilty and I'm not looking for a villain behind every problem when there's a difficulty."

The conservatives in Rome have not felt so snug since the passing of what they call "the winter of pessimism" – the reign of Pope John XXIII – and the Italian right-wing press is jubilant. Only Pope Paul's secret decision to become the first Pope since St. Peter to revisit Palestine has startled them – and they have done all in their power to discourage his getting away from Rome.

MICHAEL NOVAK

MICHAEL NOVAK *is an American Catholic who is writing a book on the Second Vatican Council.*

Will Congress Pay for Education?

by Christopher Jencks

The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, President Johnson said when he signed it December 16, "is the most significant education bill passed by Congress in the history of the Republic. In fact, this session of Congress will go down in history as the Education Congress of 1963."

What had the 88th Congress done to justify such lyricism? The details are complex, but the main points can be summed up fairly simply. The Office of Education was authorized to double its current annual spending of $600 million, by initiating new programs in vocational secondary education, public junior colleges, public and private four year colleges, and graduate schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and arts and sciences. These programs have not yet been funded by the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, and the current economy drive may delay one or more of them. But for the moment everyone is optimistic.

Has this Congress done more for education than any of its predecessors? It has promised less money than the 78th Congress, which passed the GI Bill. And it will probably have less impact on the quality of American education than the 85th Congress, which passed the National Defense Education Act. Even if the 88th Congress did have the best of all records on education, that would prove little, for its predecessors compiled almost no record at all.

There are two yardsticks with which to measure the achievement of the session recently completed. (The new session now convening is unlikely to pass much education legislation.) One yardstick is financial: how do the total appropriations authorized by the 88th Congress compare to the total financial requirements of education today, and to the overall national resources available to meet these requirements? The other yardstick is essentally social: how will the programs enacted by the 88th Congress, regardless of size, affect the shape of American education in the years to come? Since the traditional view of most educators has been that the only proper contribution of the Federal Government to education is money, and that the shape of education is a matter best left in state, municipal and private hands, this article will confine itself strictly to evaluating the Federal financial contribution, both present and potential. A later article will consider the possibility that the educators are wrong and that the role of the Federal Government is primarily to influence the priorities of education, not merely to foot the bill.

What part of the cost of education has been assumed by the Federal Government as a result of the new legislation? The answer depends on what you include in your definition of education. The capital and operating costs of accredited American schools, colleges and universities, public and private, totaled about $30 billion for the 1962-63 academic year. Unaccredited institutions, voluntary agencies, commercial schools (e.g. Berlitz) and the like probably spent another $3 billion. Industry spent an estimated $4 billion on education and training. The military spent at least $3 billion. Individual students spent perhaps $1 billion more on text-

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books, living expenses and other costs which grew directly out of their quest for education (or at least for a degree). Conservatively, the total cost of American education was at least $40 billion during 1962-63, about seven percent of the Gross National Product.

Most people prefer a somewhat narrower definition of the cost of education than the one suggested above. They would include only the direct expenses of accredited schools, colleges and universities. Many would also eliminate the $2 billion these institutions spend on non-academic activities: school lunches, college cafeterias, college dormitories, loans and scholarships which help students support themselves. Others would eliminate university receipts and expenditures for research (nearly $2 billion) since such activity has little direct value in educating students, and in most cases competes directly with classroom teaching for the time and energy of professors.

For reasons which I hope will become clear, I choose here to define the cost of education in America as including only the expenditures of our accredited schools, colleges and universities, *not including expenditures for organized research.* According to this definition, about $28 billion was spent on American education in 1962-63, five percent of the GNP. Where did it come from? Table 1 provides a partial answer.

Table 1 suggests a slight decline over the past decade in the share of total education costs borne by the Federal Government. The 88th Congress has temporarily reversed this trend, authorizing new expenditures which will return the Federal share, both in elementary-secondary spending and in higher education, to approximately the 1952-53 level. This is not, however, exactly what a dispassionate observer would call a revolution. Certainly it is not going to solve the overall financial problems facing American education in the next decade. Even if all the money spent by the Federal Government on elementary and secondary education were spent in Georgia and Alabama, for example, it would not be enough to provide the children of those states with really good schools. Spending by the Federal Government for higher education might suffice to build, endow, and operate one big new university a year for the rest of the decade.

Table 1

FUNDS FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION, 1952-62

Source	*Elementary & Secondary*		*Higher Education*	
	1952-3	1962-3	1952-3	1962-3
Federal	4%	3%	7%**	4%**
State	35	37	29	28
Local	54	53	3	3
Gifts	3*	3*	17	15
Charges	4*	4*	44**	50**
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

* The totals for "gifts" and "charges" in the elementary and secondary schools derive almost entirely from the activities of private schools, for which no overall financial data is available. Almost all of these schools are Roman Catholic, and rely heavily on unpaid nuns for staff. For this reason I have assumed that their costs per pupil are less than half those of the public schools. The allocation of income between gifts and tuition is a guess too.

** Between two and four percent of the money included under charges originated with the Federal Government in the form of GI Grants and NDEA loans to students.

How Much Is Enough?

If the aim of Federal aid is to take a major share of the financial burden of education off state, municipal and private backs, then the first session of the 88th Congress can hardly be said to have met the challenge. But is that necessarily the aim? Is there any persuasive proof that the Federal Government can or should finance a substantial part of the cost of education?

That depends, of course, on how much you think America should be spending on education. This is obviously not a matter for scientific determination; it is a matter of faith (or prejudice). If education were simply consumer goods, it could be made available at cost to those who had a taste for it. But it is more. It is a form of public investment. Theoretically it ought to be possible to calculate the economic return on this particular variety of investment, to compare this to the return from other alternative expenditures, and make some rational judgment about the ideal level of spending. Actually, economists have only recently begun to study the pay-offs from various kinds of educational spending, and their tentative conclusions are of little practical value in setting budgets.

Nevertheless, we cannot just decide these matters by consulting the Ouija board. One alternative is to decide how good we want our teachers to be, and then figure out how much it would cost to get them. There are two reasons for concentrating on the teachers. First, more than half the total cost of education is teacher salaries. Second, the only legitimate reason for most of the other expenditures is to create a milieu in which talented people are willing to teach.

In the fall of 1962 American schools, public and private, employed an estimated 1.7 million classroom teachers, and American colleges an estimated 330,000. Taken together, these individuals comprised three percent of the nation's work force.

A few of these teachers were among the most gifted and best trained members of their generation, but obviously the majority were not. Would it be desirable if they were? Would America really be better off if everyone in medical school left to become a teacher, and all

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the medical schools were filled by students who couldn't get jobs as teachers? Would we be better off if the best administrators in the country were devoting themselves to the schools, rather than to big business or Federal Government? Who would benefit if aspiring novelists and scientists spent their lives mainly in the classroom? These are not merely rhetorical questions. Most educators simply take it for granted that society would benefit if it had "better teachers." Educators rarely see any connection between better teachers and worse recruits in other areas. If they do, they still assume that a change in priorities would be desirable. Are they right?

What should be the relative emphasis, for instance, on education and research? Traditionally, America has given priority to education. We organized society so that those who wanted to devote their lives to a particular subject usually had to teach to live. This was a good way to get college teachers, and some high school teachers too. Now it is changing. Full-time employment in research and development work is growing faster than any other major sector of the manpower market. Salaries are also rising faster than in almost any other sector. Expenditures on research and development have been rising 15-20 percent annually for a decade – twice as fast as expenditures on education. Today total spending on research and development exceeds $20 billion, and by 1970 will probably exceed $50 billion. This means, probably, that we will be spending more for research and development than for education by 1970.

Like most other fields of rapidly growing employment, research and development draws gifted (and not so gifted) individuals away from teaching. A young physics BA is offered a choice between high school teaching and technical writing. A young economics PhD chooses between consulting, working for government or industry, teaching, or some combination of all three. Would we want the most gifted and best trained to choose teaching most of the time? If we did want this, we would have to offer salaries for classroom teaching which were not only competitive with salaries in research and development work, but perhaps significantly higher. If salaries are merely equal, more and more talented individuals seem likely to prefer research to the classroom.

There are not many occupations growing as fast as research and development, or appealing as greatly to the imagination of talented young people. Nevertheless, we are entering an era when the demand not only for technical but verbal skills will far outstrip the supply, and most of those who are potentially good teachers will find themselves sought after for other work as well. Often it will be challenging work, and often in a setting more congenial than the classroom.

How much money would it take to keep the majority from accepting such offers? Nobody really knows. Assume, for example, that colleges wanted to maintain the traditional proportion of PhD's among their classroom teachers. (This may be a silly impulse, but it is a nearly universal one.) The output of the graduate schools in the next few years will reflect the birth rates of the thirties, while the enrollment of undergraduates will respond to the post-war baby boom. Hence if colleges want to retain their traditional ratio of PhD's to undergraduates, they will have to compete more successfully than in the past with government, industry, and research institutes. Actually, they are competing less successfully. A declining proportion of those earning PhD's has chosen to enter classroom teaching, and most of those who did enter teaching have demanded (and gotten) much lower teaching loads than in the past. The result has been and will almost certainly continue to be a steady rise in the proportion of MA's on college faculties. Whether this decline in average preparation has been accompanied by a decline in average ability is a much debated point, but there seems to be no doubt that at least *vis à vis* R & D work the college classroom has been losing its appeal, even though the salaries of college teachers have been rising about six percent annually in recent years.

Much the same thing has been happening at the elementary and secondary level. Here, however, the competition comes not so much from research as from the colleges. As the demand for college teachers rises, and the ability of the colleges to fill their classrooms with PhD's declines, raids on the secondary schools have increased. Some schoolteachers are added to the education divisions of nearby colleges; others take Master's degrees in their academic specialty and then become college teachers. The result has been a considerable decline in the number of high school teachers holding Master's degrees, (44 to 36 percent between 1956 and 1960). This decline has taken place despite recent salary increases of about five percent annually. (It should be noted, however, that salaries have risen enough to make the schools more attractive than they once were to those who hold only BA's.)

"If Present Trends Continues . . ."

Schools and colleges can continue to attract teachers if they continue to raise their salaries as fast as in the recent past – faster than the national average but slower than some competitive fields; *but this rate of increase will probably not suffice to maintain traditional levels of academic preparation among classroom teachers.* Whether it will maintain traditional levels of intellectual ability (or lack thereof) is also questionable.

Nevertheless, if we merely project present trends into the future, we must anticipate a sharp rise in educational costs. Table 2 for example, assumes that elementary and secondary enrollments will rise 15 percent between 1962-3 and 1970-1; that elementary and sec-

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ondary school costs per pupil will continue to rise about four percent annually; that college enrollments will rise 75 percent; and that college costs per student will continue to rise two percent annually.

Table 2
US EDUCATION COSTS, 1962-70

Operating and Capital Costs in billions of 1962 dollars	1962-3	1970-1
Public elementary and secondary	$19.5	$32.0
Private elementary and secondary	1.5	3.0
Public higher education (No R&D)	4.2	9.5
Private higher education (No R&D)	3.1	5.5
Total (No R&D)	$28.3	$50.0

This level of spending would require that the US devote to education between six and seven percent of its 1970 GNP (assuming a 3-4 percent growth rate). This is a substantial increase, but not significantly more than the increase achieved in the past ten years – from three percent of the 1952 GNP to five percent of the 1962 GNP. That increase was achieved, we should remember, without changing the way the money was raised (see Table 1). Theoretically, a similar increase could be achieved in the next decade too.

But while a major increase *could* be achieved without tapping new sources of revenue, there is reason to doubt that it *will* be achieved. The reason, put simply, is that the public may not be convinced that increases of this kind are necessary. State legislators may feel that the effort to keep college teaching competitive with research is futile; school boards may despair when good men turn from high school to college teaching. Such sentiments seem almost inevitable when you realize that the alternative will be higher state and local tax rates. In theory, there is no good reason why these rates should not rise – especially at the state level, where the potentialities of both income and sales taxes have rarely been exploited to the full. But in practice there may be an excellent reason, namely that the voters may choose legislators who prefer low taxes and mediocre teachers to high taxes and somewhat better teachers. In that case the only way to achieve the level of expenditure projected in Table 2 may be for the Federal Government to levy the taxes which state and local governments won't. Is this desirable in principle? Even if it is desirable, how likely are national legislators to do what local legislators refuse to do?

But suppose we regard the currently deteriorating competitive position of teaching as intolerable, and seek a level of spending on education which would lure men back from research into the classroom, back from the colleges into the schools, back from industry into both. This would mean spending perhaps $60-75 billion on education in 1970-71 – eight or ten percent of the GNP. It would mean a very steep rise in state and local taxes, far steeper than seems politically likely at the present time. If spending of this kind is the aim, one must either look for massive federal aid or else explore the possibility of charging the consumer more.

As for higher consumer charges, they are theoretically feasible but extremely difficult to arrange. One can imagine, for example, the creation of a National Education Fund, backed by the Federal Government but not financed by it, which would lend billions of dollars each year to state, municipal and private authorities for education. The fund could then get the money back by imposing a surcharge on the federal income tax of those alumni whose education it had helped finance. Economically, a good case might be made for some such arrangement, but politically it is about as likely as unilateral disarmament.

So if you want education to remain competitive with R & D or other occupations employing the highly educated, you must turn in the end to direct federal assistance on a massive scale – perhaps $10-15 billion a year by 1970-71. In this conceivable? That depends on the rate of economic growth during the rest of the decade, on whether we can find ways to keep unemployment down, on the course of the Cold War, and on whether Congress comes to accept deficit financing as a way of life. Assuming that the tax rates approved last year by the House become effective, it will be some years before revenues catch up with expenditures on existing programs. There won't be $10-15 billion for new programs in 1970 unless we achieve a remarkably high rate of economic growth, keep Cold War expenses close to the present level, and avoid the 8-10 percent unemployment rate (with concommitant welfare spending) which now seems likely. (I discount entirely the hope that Congress might embark on major new programs, financed by borrowing, in order to sop up unemployment.) Even if $15 billion is available for new programs, what are the odds that it will go for education rather than urban renewal or space? All in all, the prospects for massive federal aid to education look extremely iffy.

A more modest program of general Federal aid, on the scale proposed by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson might conceivably be passed. But is a modest program worth the enormous political effort required to pass it? The action of the "Education Congress of 1963" was a minute step in this direction, but even after the new legislation has been funded, the Federal Government will be providing less money for the schools and colleges of all America than either the New York or California legislature provides for its schools and colleges. Those who want first-rate education for their children in the next decade would be wise to take this to heart and move to one of the areas which already supports education comparatively generously, rather than waiting for Congress to move.

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The Modern Mr. Forster

by Gilbert A. Harrison

Before calling on E. M. Forster at Kings College, Cambridge, I had gone with a friend to sit in the superb Henry VI chapel. A service was on. Not a knee creaked, no voice broke, no word grated. The light, the windows, the stalls, stone and banners – all were perfection. I drifted from the Chapel across the court and up the stone staircase to Mr. Forster's rooms, part of me left behind, another part beginning to anticipate the meeting.

He was all twinkle and solicitude, busying himself with seating us and with the sherry. I told him that I had just come from Chapel service and was bothered. Why, since it was perfect, was I not moved? "Why," he burst out, "you weren't *meant* to!" He was delighted. That was what he thought of high churchmanship. And what else could I tell him? "He enjoys hearing about escapades of any kind," Mollie Panter-Downs said of him in *The New Yorker*, on his 80th birthday, "Then his glasses glint, his moustache twitches, his face creases into puckers of amusement, little gasps of gathering delight escape him, and out of this steady fortissimo burst the helpless shriek of laughter. . . ."

I recall little of the conversation we had that afternoon. The talk, like his room, was pleasant, almost intimate, and from the beginning; in an instant it was on the boil. He was about to visit Italy and asked if I could recommend an inexpensive *pension* in Assisi. I could, but would it be right for him? "No, no," he said, "do *you* like it." So I gave him the name and he later wrote of the pleasure staying there had given him. He had liked the white pigeons and the grape arbor on the breakfast porch overlooking the valley. He had been trying, he said, to read what the scientists were writing, even some science fiction; but he found it hard; it was of another age. What age was he? I knew, but not from seeing him. Now, this week, he is 85.

He long ago wrote five novels, part of a sixth, and a seventh (unpublished). But there are a great many fine short stories too, and the numerous essays, radio talks, tributes to writers, a history and guidebook of Alexandria, a biography of his great aunt Marianne Thornton, a critique of the novel, the biography of his Cambridge friend, Goldworthy Lowes Dickinson, a report on the government of Egypt done for the Labour Party's research department, even a pageant play about England. It is remarkable he is thought of as "not having produced much." Every line speaks for the individual, for the possibilities of the spirit against brutality or indifference or coercive pride. In his 1931 report on Egypt, he says apropos of "the Egyptian character": "Up to 1919 the Egyptians were allowed such plebeian virtues as industry and good temper, but they were regarded as an inferior race, incapable of taking the initiative or of suffering for an ideal. This low estimate of them was not confined to Europeans; it was shared by the co-religionists in Turkey and in India. But hatred of the British has hardened the national character. The official view of this change is that it is due to propaganda. But propaganda is not a magic drug: it must appeal to something that already exists in men's minds, or its power evaporates . . . . Whether [Egyptian] patriotism has a constructive side we cannot tell until we give it a chance: at present it necessarily takes the form of rioting."

We cannot tell . . . but we must act as if we could. He ends a pamphlet on the Nazis, which he describes as "propaganda" this way: "Whatever the outcome of the war, we are in for bad times. But there are moments when each of us, however feeble, can feel within himself the strong hopes of the human race, and see beyond his personal death its renaissance, and the restoration of delight."

We live, he says, a stone's throw from the caves of Marabar ("a Marabar cave can hear no sound but its own"). Below, in the dark, all sound is echo – a dread and impersonal "Boum." But how are we to save ourselves from this horror, from fear, panic, withdrawal, even despair? "Love is a great force in private life," but in public affairs, "It does not work." "The fact is we can only love what we know personally. And we cannot know much." And so Mr. Forster settles for something less for the community – tolerance, which is "boring" and a "very dull virtue. Unlike love, it has always had a bad press. It is negative. It merely means putting up with people, being able to stand things . . . [Yet] this is the only force which will enable different races and classes and interests to settle down together to the work of reconstruction."

Tolerance at least, affection at best, is the message of all the books. And a repugnance for fanaticism: "I have lost all faith in positive militant ideals; they can so seldom be carried out without thousands of human beings getting maimed or imprisoned. Phrases like 'I will purge this nation', 'I will clean up this city', terrify and disgust me." In "What I Believe," he asserts his disbelief, but he is writing in wartime when, as he sees, "tolerance, good temper, and sympathy . . . are not enough. . . . They want stiffening, even if the process coarsens them. Faith, to my mind, is a stiffening process, a sort of mental starch, which ought to be applied as sparingly as possible. I dislike the stuff. I do not believe in it, for its own sake, at all. . . . My lawgivers are Erasmus and Montaigne, not Moses and Saint Paul. My temple stands not upon Mt. Moriah, but in that Elysian Field where even the immoral are admitted. My motto is: 'Lord, I disbelieve – help thou my unbelief'."

He wonders how "can we put any

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trust in personal relationships or cling to them in the gathering political storm?" Then he transforms the "we" to "I": "One must be fond of people and trust them if one is not to make a mess of life, and it is therefore essential that they should not let one down. They often do. The moral of which is that I *must, myself, be as reliable as possible*, and this I try to be. But reliability is not a matter of contract – that is the main difference between the world of personal relationships and the world of business relationships. It is a matter for the heart, which signs no documents. Against suspicion and indifference he asserts trust and concern.

In this age, personal relations may be despised ("I will not turn my back on Alger Hiss" was a remark for which Dean Acheson paid heavily); we are asked to put in their place some cause. Mr. Forster hates the idea of causes; If he "had to choose between betraying my country or betraying my friend, I hope I should have the guts to betray my country." His ultimate confidence (let it be betrayed) is in the private vision shared.

Hope without hallucinations. "Others with more vision or courage than myself," he writes, "see the salvation of humanity ahead, and will dismiss my conception of civilization as paltry, a sort of tip-and-run game. Certainly it is presumptuous to say that we *cannot* improve and that man, who has only been in power for a few thousand years, will never learn to make use of his power. All I mean is that if people continue to kill one another as they do, the world cannot get better than it is, and since there are more people than formerly, and their means for destroying one another superior, the world may well get worse. What is good in people – and consequently in the world – is their insistence on creation, their belief in friendship and loyalty for *their own sakes; and though violence* remains and is, indeed, the major partner in this muddled establishment, I believe that creativeness remains too, and will always assume direction when violence sleeps. So, though I am not an optimist, I cannot agree with Sophocles that it were better never to have been born. And although, like Horace, I see no evidence that each batch of births is superior to the last, I leave the field open for the more complacent view."

Civility is the cement of society, but it does not bind us to one another. In writing of India and of his sad conviction that good will is inadequate (for "the reactions to it are instantly cynical"), he says that "the only thing that cuts a little ice is affection or the possibility of affection . . . but it must be genuine affection and liking. It must not be exercised with any ulterior motive."

Here is the moralist without Belief; the reformer without program, the prophet of personal relations who knows how often they fail. Mrs. Moore in *A Passage to India* disappoints Dr. Aziz; friendship is not possible – "no, not yet." Mrs. Wilcox drifts in and out of Margaret Schlegel's life in *Howard's End;* the connection is so fragile; there were hints of understandings, a trace of intimacy, then death and mystery. But not before Mrs. Wilcox had said: "We are all in the same boat, old and young. I never forget that."

Can the hero in wartime escape "the insolence of victory, the venom of defeat?", Forster asks in a short essay, "Hyman Before Action." He cannot; "he drives into the battle rejoicing, and wins a great victory. But it is necessarily and rightly followed by disillusionment and remorse. The fall of his enemies leads to his own, for the fortunes of men are all bound up together, and it is impossible to inflict damage without receiving it." This was written in 1912.

In Belfast, Mr. Forster said a few words some years ago, in memory of an author he knew, Forrest Reid, whom he described as "elusive and sensitive, yet at the same time he was tough and knew his own mind. He preached no dogma, and yet all his work is characterized by what he himself has beautifully called a sort of *moral fragrance. Its final impact is* ethical. Behind nature and the indwelling power in her, behind Lagan and the Ulster countryside, behind Celtic or Hellenic fancies, behind his sympathy for youth and young people, for animals, for birds, there lurks that moral fragrance. Not moral precepts, but moral fragrance. There is a profound difference." The words will do for Mr. Forster himself.

He has never been pretentious about his work. He told an interviewer in 1952 that he had not "got down more than the people I like, the person I think I am, and the people who irritate me. This puts me among the large body of authors who are not really novelists, and have to get on as best they can with these three categories. We have not the power of observing the variety of life and describing it dispassionately."

He has dreaded war and mechanization and the spoiled landscapes and resisted them all. He has not been sure his kind of humanism would last very long. In 1935, he wondered whether writers like himself would not soon "be swept away." And "this being so, my job, and the job of those who feel with me, is an interim job. We have just to go on tinkering as well as we can with our old tools until the crash comes. When the crash comes, nothing is any good. After it – if there is an after – the task of civilization will be carried on by people whose training has been different from my own." Meanwhile, each may be redeemed by imagination, and partially redeemed by great literature, for great literature "transforms the man who reads it toward the condition of the man who wrote, and brings to birth in us also the creative impulse. Lost in the beauty where he was lost, we find more than we ever threw away, we reach what seems to be our spiritual home, and remember that it was not the speaker who was in the beginning, but the Word."

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Through a Glass Brightly

by Stanley Kauffmann

"*Vogue* is chiefly read, and bought, for fashion. . . ." It is a winningly candid statement with which to open a literary-pictorial anthology from that magazine. But it does not come from *The World in Vogue:* it is the first line of the preface to *Vogue's Gallery,* the English anthology published in 1962 from the English edition of the magazine. The recently published, much larger and more sumptuous American anthology from the American magazine has prefaces by both publisher and editor, neither of which once mentions the word "fashion." "An enduring record of an extraordinary passage in the history of our day," says the American publisher. The American editor says: "*Vogue* has sometimes been called a civilizing force." Source of quotation not given.

The World in Vogue
(Viking; $16)

This deception about *Vogue,* and thus about this anthology, is pure self-deception. Everyone except the acolytes in the shrine knows that *Vogue* is a fashion journal: that its fiction, its "features," its non-fashion photographs are merely fillers meant to amuse, *frissoner,* or superficially inform the lady who has picked up the magazine for fashion news. This is a well-produced folio album of some of those fillers. Of its 416 pages, covering the 70 years of the journal's life, less than two dozen are devoted to fashion. These fillers are, naturally, of more lasting and general interest than the fashions between which they appeared, but we may as well remember that they represent this "enduring record" disproportionately.

There is no point in belaboring the prose pieces with criticism. The expected house-cat authors are present and preening: Dorothy Parker, Alexander Woollcott, Anita Loos, Truman Capote, John Mason Brown. Better authors are represented in easily digestible snippets: Camus at his thinnest; Harold Nicolson larking; Faulkner's highly uncharacteristic Nobel Prize speech. (That speech is to Faulkner as *Bist du bei mir* is to Bach: the one bit for *everybody.*) The best serious articles are surveys of modern American architecture by Peter Blake and of ballet by Agnes De Mille. There are two good pieces of social history by Frank Crowninshield (about the gargantuan boredom of gargantuan formal dinners of the nineties) and by Bertrand Russell (about his youthful encounter with old Gladstone). Most subjects are sketched in sufficiently to make table chat. World War II is stretched to eight pages. Outside of the first ten pages, which are a potted history of seven decades presumably prepared for this volume, there is virtually no politics and, of course, there never was a Depression.

Almost all of these observations apply only to the text. The photographs, of which there are hundreds, many of them full page, are usually interesting, sometimes revealing, occasionally beautiful. There are some adequate color reproductions of paintings. There are some inadequate color photographs. (In a postscript the editors acknowledge the inadequacy but say they felt that technical difficulties should not keep these pictures out. I demur.) Some of the photographs have become deservedly famous: the bedridden Colette, Nabokov in poncho, Mrs. Kennedy smiling through a rain-streaked car window. Some ought to be famous: Valentino, with the light just touching a small scar; Noel Coward and Gertrude Lawrence simultaneously typifying and parodying the Twenties; many of Irving Penn's portraits before he went blur-crazy. Some are interesting curiosities: Orville Wright looking like Molotov; the young JFK, flanked by sisters, looking like Rudy Vallee; one of Mrs. Vanderbilt's dinner parties, with the postprandial lecturer seated slightly to the rear waiting to go on, not quite fit to sit at table. Many of the photographs bear out what Cecil Beaton (himself well represented) and other photographers have said: magazines like *Vogue,* whatever their shortcomings, have impelled experiment and improvement in good photography. Men like Stieglitz, Genthe, and Steichen, were early recognized by these magazines, which saw quickly that both their needs and their resources for good printing gave them the chance to help advance the photographic art. Consciously or not, the fashion journals were spurred in this by a sense that their audience would rather look at pictures – particularly smart ones – than read.

This book, like its source, creates ambivalent feelings. First, there are attractions. When it is at hand, I cannot resist leafing through the magazine (or, if one may mention them at *Vogue's* testimonial banquet, *Harper's Bazaar* and *Town and Country.*) To update Horace Walpole's familiar line, "It is charming to totter into *Vogue.*" There are of course the pretty though monumentally serious girls, fashionably dressed or undressed. But what one likes most about *Vogue* is that it is a reminder of essential frivolity. It looks at the world as a party, which is certainly one (underscore *one*) of the several ways in which the world must be regarded. One has only to see photographs of a Soviet fashion show to know that a society that does so clumsily by luxuries is having trouble with necessities. The converse is not true, obviously. Man does not live by cake alone, and only spiritual White Russians pine for the days when. . . . Still, *haute couture* is as happy a refinement as *haute cuisine;* the ballroom is as necessary some of the time as the study or office is much of the time; and every sane person needs the possibility of prodigality. Even fairly poor people like to waste money, as they can. *Vogue* glitters for us all;

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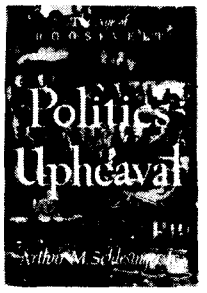

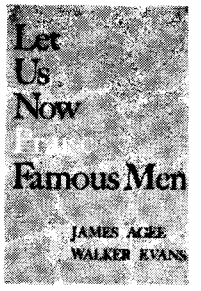

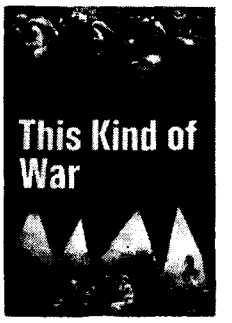

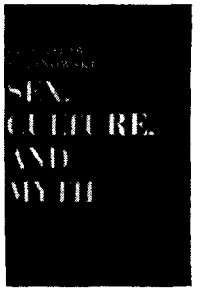

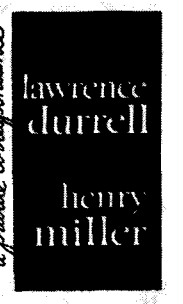

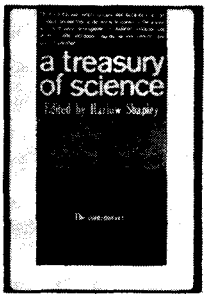

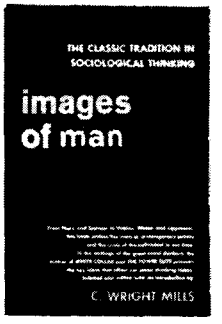

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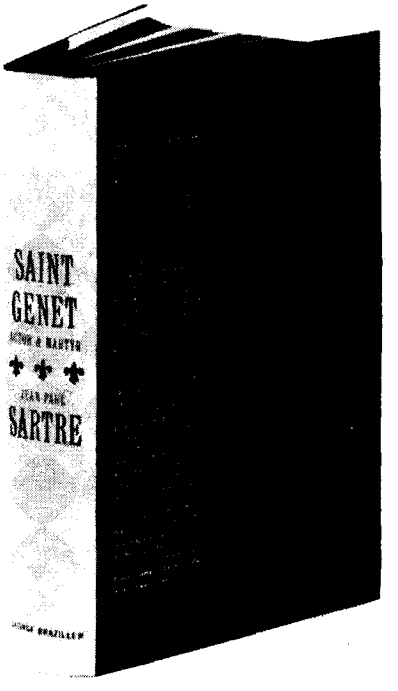

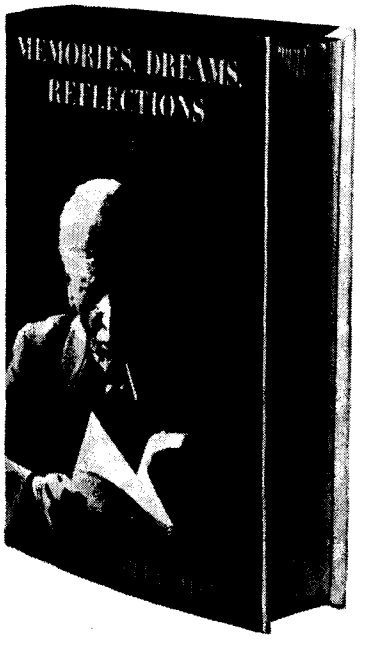

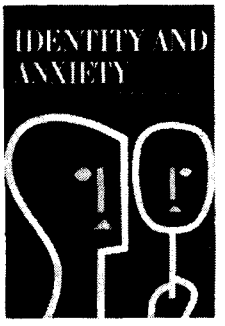

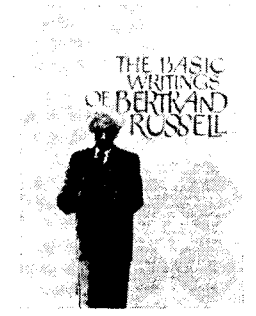

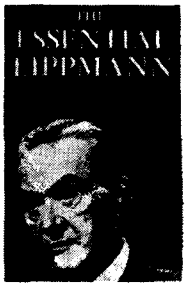

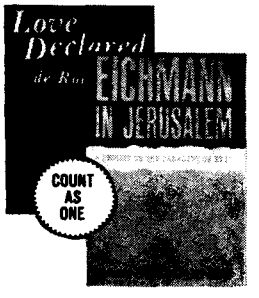

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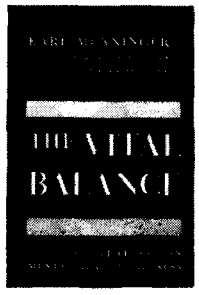

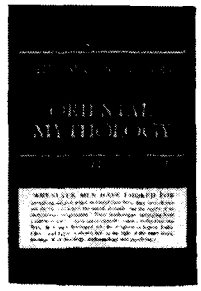

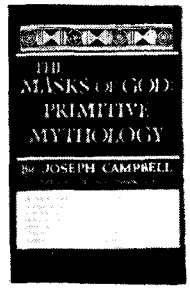

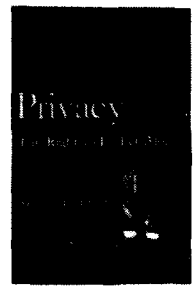

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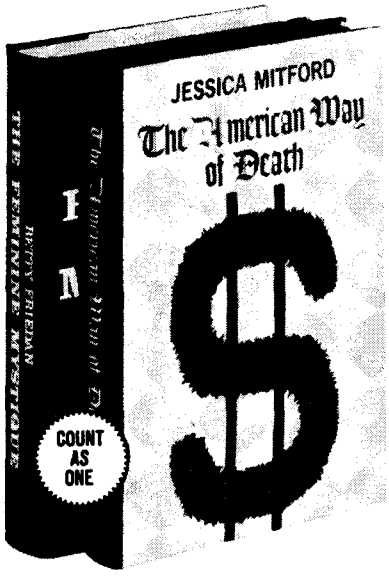

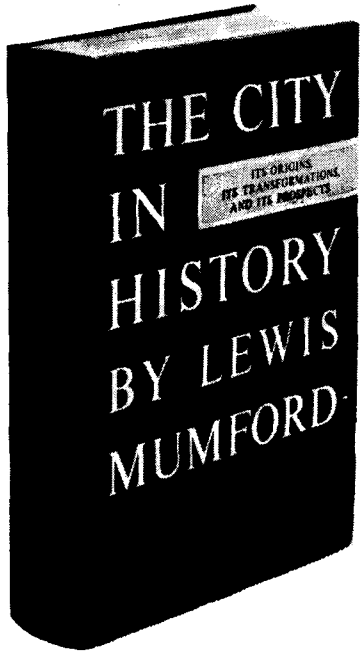

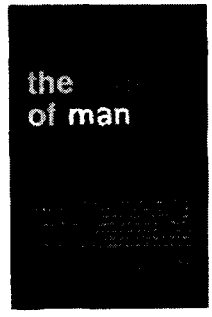

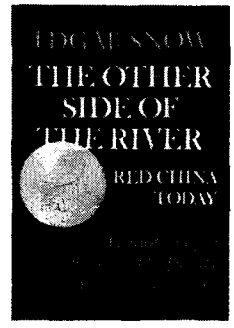

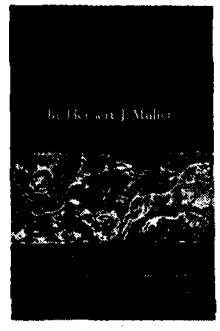
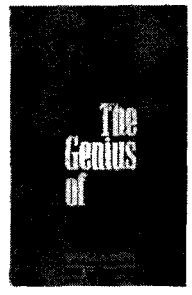

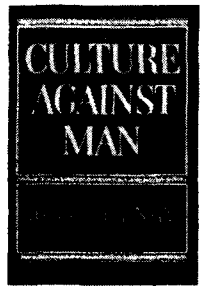

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and one wants glitter as well as gold.

On the other hand, *Vogue* – with its sisters – is also repellent. Not because, intellectually, it is *The Reader's Digest* of the chic. Not because it is a generous glimpse through the mansion gates. Not because it is patronizing of the world's portentous problems. To be offended by these matters is to be offended by the news that champagne is not nourishing. The really repellent aspect is that *Vogue* is pseudo-English. It longs for, even pretends that there is, an American aristocracy.

(It must be made clear that *Vogue* is an American magazine, founded in 1893. The English edition was not started until 1916, the French edition began in 1922.)

On the East Side of Manhattan from the Fifties to the Nineties, live the mock-English, who have their counterparts in other American cities. Their sons go to private schools that provide little Harrow caps. They themselves belong to suburban hunt clubs. They affect what they think are non-American accents. (Something of an amusement, I can testify, to cultivated Englishmen.) They are the heart of the *Vogue* "market," these genteel folk whose chief curse is not to have been born English, or at least European, and who spend as much time and effort as they can in trying to gloss over their loss. *Vogue* feeds their dream, pretending that there is no difference between them and European nobility. Thus it plays off a cracked sounding board or, rather, a factitious one.

This is not to say that this country has been without gentry. North and South, there has been a patrician tradition of power and cultivation, combined, *à la* Adams and Lee, with public responsibility. But *Vogue* is not primarily interested in those aspects of the patrician life; nor does it recognize, really, the passage of time or the changing of social textures. It is a court circular without a monarch, for courtiers with no centripetal crown. One has only to read the English edition in England to sense the difference between the completed circle and the broken arc.

Their obsession is italicized by the recurrence of royalty and aristocracy throughout this American anthology, even to the (admittedly appealing) photographs of titled English children in the halls of stately homes. It is further substantiated, unwittingly, by a typographical error on page 46. A headline that should read "Portraits of Royalty" misspells the last word as "Royality". (Such a word once existed but has long been obsolete; the last usage cited by the OED is 1678. I may be forgiven for assuming that *Vogue* never heard of the obsolete word and that "royality" here is a mistake.) It is a prime Freudian slip, an excellent Joycean portmanteau word for those to whom reality is linked to royalty; for, though this country dearly loves a lord and the *Ladies' Home Journal* knows it, only the *Vogue* sorority pretends that Park Avenue and Georgetown are extensions of Belgravia.

The Cholly Knickerbocker aspects of *Vogue* are its dullest. Who can care about anyone who cares about pictures of Mr. Winthrop Null conversing with Mrs. Harrison Void? But the Elsa Maxwell aspects are amusing. Her advice on how to give a party is interesting, granted that (like me) one likes to give and attend parties. The problem, in so far as it is one, is how to accomplish the world's political and intellectual work, as it cries out to be done, without destroying all the flimflam and fun. If the fun must go in the process, then, I suppose, it must; for if C. P. Snow made any inarguable point in his discourses on Two Cultures and Three Cultures, it is the stupidity of those who do not understand how enormous human suffering has been until very recently and that most of those who deplore the Machine Age and mourn for an esthetic age that never existed would now be dead of starvation or else illiterate and brutalized in that by-gone world they fancy. Still, it was the world of privilege that made the world of cultivated amusements. As the former alters, it would be pleasant if – without mythologizing like *Vogue* – we could keep most of the latter. The best in social gaiety is an exercise of wit. A concern with style – in dress, behavior, dance, games – is one insurance against 1984, which, come to think of it, is now only twenty years away.

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"...a therapeutic rape..."

"This part of the entertainment is bathed in a slurping sentimentality which gives way to outlandish violence when the nurse counterattacks. In fast order, one of her victimized patients cuts his throat, ol' Mac tries to treat her to a therapeutic rape, is condemned to a prefrontal lobotomy, then smothered to death by a friend to save him from a vegetable existence. Only the audience is worse served."

From a recent Newsweek Theater column. A glimpse of how we read these days. Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

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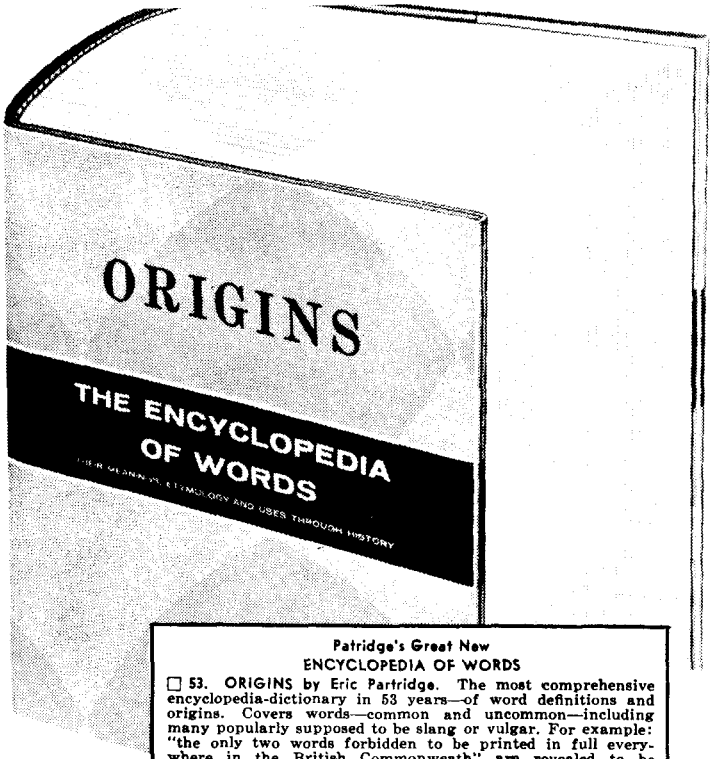

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Europe and American Defense

by Harald Malmgren

As every diligent reader of the newspapers knows, the position of Europe in the military balance is not what it was, now that the United States and the Soviet Union have a large number of relatively invulnerable underground and undersea missiles. Either side today can absorb a full-scale attack and still retaliate massively. That such weapons would ever be used, even for European defense, is less credible than ever. It follows that the need for Europe as a strategic base for American defense has disappeared.

Arms and Stability in Europe
by Alastair Buchan and Philip Windsor
(Praeger; $5)

The prospects for armed stability in Europe in this new situation were considered by an English-French-German study group, consisting of some of Europe's wisest defense analysts, which met at intervals throughout 1962, and whose ideas Alastair Buchan and Philip Windsor report in this volume. The result is a fascinating excursion through the intricacies of NATO defense strategy, and the various national views on how best to defend Europe.

Europeans responsible for defense policy have for years argued that the best way to prevent Soviet aggression in Europe is to confront the Soviets with a high probability that tactical nuclear weapons would automatically be used in armed conflict, which in turn means a high probability of escalation to full-scale thermonuclear war. Since the Russians will not risk all-out war, even limited incursions in Western Europe will thus be deterred. The official view is that such a deterrent is not believable; that, on the contrary, the Russians might be tempted to try limited adventures in the belief that the *United States* would not risk all-out war. And so, the US presses for a large-scale conventional force in Europe, to thwart any conventional attack. The West would then have the means to respond in an "appropriate" manner to a wide variety of attacks. To this, the European reply is that if a conventional battle is made possible, the risk of escalation becomes less, and the Soviet temptation to try for small gains is thereby increased.

The core of this disagreement on strategy can be found in two broad problems. First, Washington wants to share defense responsibility with Europe, but this runs counter to the belief that Western strategy must be centrally controlled in order to avoid nuclear war. But with only the American finger on the nuclear trigger, the Europeans can never be sure that aggression in Europe would lead the US to respond at the risk of certain national destruction. Second, the US desire for an option to fight with conventional weapons means that conventional fighting on European soil is a possibility – a prospect unappealing to the Europeans. In fact, though the Buchan-Windsor book never quite says this, the defense of Europe is a strategic matter to a European, while it is rapidly becoming merely a tactical matter to the United States. The European tends therefore to be interested in preventing *any* kind of fighting, rather than in being able to win a fight if one breaks out.

The American belief that central control of nuclear weapons is essential is discussed at length, and various alternatives such as the Multilateral Force, an independent European deterrent, and the national independent deterrents, are considered. The Multilateral Force is fairly described as a device that provides the appearance of European participation in American strategic decisions without the reality. On the other hand, the proposal for an independent European deterrent is considered technically unsound and politically unworkable in the near future. The conclusion is that an attempt needs to be made to move along two levels simultaneously: While searching for ways to coordinate the decision to fire thermonuclear weapons, steps should be taken to bring about joint planning for the use of such weapons. Some detailed suggestions for reorganizing NATO and revitalizing

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"City of sin and starvation"

"The Chinese Communists wanted to kill Shanghai and all it stood for. And in part they have succeeded. Though its face remains unchanged, the city of sin and starvation, ruled by thirteen foreign proconsuls, is no more. . . . There is only the muted clop-clop of thousands of straw- or felt-soled feet on the asphalt pavement. Shanghai today—like Peking, Hankow, Nanking and other major Chinese cities—is a movie with the sound track turned off."

From a recent Newsweek story.
A glimpse of how we read these days.
Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

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the Western European Union are the means toward these ends. The commonsensical attitude that it is time to look for particular areas of possible agreement, and avoid generalities about centralized control, is refreshing.

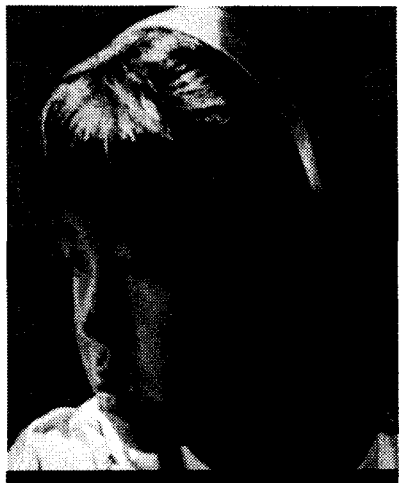
On possible conventional arms policies for Europe, the same practical line is taken. Mr. McNamara has recently suggested that the Soviet Army is no longer the massive threat it once seemed, and that the NATO nations have at least a matching number of soldiers. This suggests, in his view, that it is realistic to enlarge conventional forces so as to be able to fight a conventional war if necessary. The authors, in considering the characteristics of Western and Soviet forces, reach less optimistic but similar conclusions. They argue that the Western concept of the "shield" leads to the early use of nuclear weapons, since it offers the Russians a choice as to where they will punch through the thin defense crust. To leave any area undefended would offer a different temptation. Their solution involves four steps. First, develop strong militia-type local defense forces in the countries most exposed to Soviet attack. Next, the 25 existing NATO divisions should be divided between ten highly mobile counter-attack divisions and other divisions whose functions would be to provide a pattern of strong points behind which the mobile divisions could form and move. Third, form a stronger system of ready reserves in the home territory of the NATO nations. Fourth, restore mobility to the Central European forces through development of a uniform system of logistics. Given the economic and political forces militating against larger national armies in the European NATO nations, and given the basic disagreement about whether it is really a good thing to have a conventional capability anyway, these and other proposals of the European study group look more practicable than Mr. McNamara's campaign to raise more conventional army divisions.

Discussing arms control policies for Europe, the authors examine the prevention of surprise land attack, which has to be assured before nuclear disengagement is possible. (Such disengagement is ultimately necessary to increase arms stability in Europe, they believe).

Buchan and Windsor tread very lightly on American toes in their report, with little comment on the inconsistencies in American policy which contribute to confusion in NATO. For example, Washington has attempted to convince Europe of the futility of building independent city-busting nuclear forces. Yet the United States in its eager, almost frantic, search for some kind of device to bring about discussions on the control of nuclear weapons, has dreamed up the Multilateral Force, essentially a city-busting missile force with limited application to military targets. Similarly, the United States has been moving some of its military lines of communication and supply from France to the Northern part of Central Europe, and moving some of its supporting infrastructure back to the US, ostensibly for financial reasons. Yet clearly, the North-South line of communication which this sets up makes it nearly impossible to fight a conventional war in Central Europe for any length of time, since the Soviets need only sweep across the North and cut off these lifelines. Similarly, US-based support for forces fighting in Europe is not available very quickly should a conventional conflict break out.

The fundamental question of what importance Europe has to American defense remains open throughout the book. What incentive has the US to keep its troops in Europe? This is a cold-blooded question, but in such a book as this it is relevant. With the change in the strategic value of Europe and the change in the United States' international financial position, which is providing new and fundamentally different pressures for withdrawal of some overseas commitments, the force of a Presidential guarantee that we shall at any cost defend Europe must, to a European, sound less and less convincing. And because of that, those who seek an independent policy for Europe and have increasing doubts about American intentions, will find an ever-widening audience. The insecurity of Europe is thus more than a matter of who controls nuclear weapons; it involves doubts about whether the United States can be counted on in a crisis affecting Europe.

How can these doubts be stilled? Devices such as the Multilateral Force are



The loneliness of a little girl

Her name is Patricia Bright Eagle, a forgotten child with a proud tradition. Patricia's home is made of mud and sticks; her food consists mainly of fried bread and corn.

Like other six-year-old children, Patricia started school this year. It was a frightening experience for her. Unable to speak but a few words of English, Patricia suddenly found herself in a world where she became self-conscious and ashamed of her clothes, of her name, of her appearance...of herself. She stays apart, bewildered and lonely.

Patricia will soon learn to speak English, but there are some things school cannot give her, things that the other children have. She needs new shoes, decent clothes, money for school activities and school supplies—and for an occasional luxury such as a bracelet or a small toy. She needs the help of someone who cares... someone to give her the confidence and assurance she needs so desperately to participate in voluntary school and community services.

If not you...who?

You—or your club or office group—can give these things to Patricia or another needy Indian child through SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION. Your contribution of just $10.00 a month, $120.00 a year, will provide a child with funds to buy suitable clothing, books and a cash allowance for school activities.

You will receive a photograph, a case history, and progress reports on the child you sponsor. You may also correspond with the child, so that your generous material aid becomes part of a larger gift of understanding and friendship. Won't you please help?

save the children

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I wish to contribute $120.00 annually to help an American Indian Girl ☐ Boy ☐.
Enclosed is my first payment:
$10.00 a month ☐ $60.00 semi-annually ☐
$30.00 a quarter ☐ $120.00 annually ☐
I cannot sponsor a child; enclosed is a contribution of $_____

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not sufficient. Only a full-scale attempt to bring European nations into a stronger and closer working arrangement with US planning will do. Changes in strategic doctrine, and even in technical capabilities, will eventually have to become a matter of joint consultation, unless American policy is to let European uncertainty run its full course.

THEATER

The Underground Play

Nobody Loves An Albatross
by Ronald Alexander
(Lyceum Theater)
Marathon 33
by June Havoc
(Actors Studio Theater;
ANTA Theater)

How many Broadway comedies have opened on a hero trading wisecracks with his precocious young daughter and the colored housekeeper? Two thousand by conservative estimate, all of them preserved for summer stock companies in the catalogues of Samuel French. When the curtain rises on a scene like this, you will invariably find me out in the night air before the end of the first act. For I may be helpless to affect the audience's preference for Pablum over whole milk, but at least I don't have to listen to those burps which always follow the swallowing of the formula. *Nobody Loves An Albatross* begins by patting for bubbles in just this manner. And since the author, Ronald Alexander, is credited with a play called *Time Out for Ginger* and a number of television shows, I was just groping for my coat when I began to hear genuine laughter rising from the house – not that expulsion of gas you hear at *Never Too Late* or *Mary, Mary*, but real, honest-to-goodness human sounds.

It is Mr. Alexander's experience in the mass media, I assume, that has taught him to be a strategist; and he is a sneaky one. He has written a play with all the earmarks of a formula comedy, and then proceeded to undermine each and every convention of the genre. Consider his characters and plot devices. Nat Bentley, his hero, is a TV producer – an engaging rascal, naturally, who operates entirely on charm. His boss, a studio empress possibly modelled on Lucille Ball, has given him an ultimatum: create a successful new TV series or be fired off all her shows. The situation is hackneyed, and so is the love interest. For Nat has an attractive secretary who fulfills the two essential requirements of her stereotype: she loves her employer, and she wants him to be true to his ideals. When Nat's stable of writers fails to produce a suitably "warm, human, and touching" script, Nat is given four days to write one himself – inevitably, he succeeds. He is now in a position to marry his secretary, and to irrigate the wasteland with the kind of courageous, meaningful projects she admires (Nat already has one in mind called *Injustice:* "It's about the things that happen to minority groups and the underprivileged in the world"). And thus, we expect him to end up like those hordes of Broadway heroes, covered with glory, love, integrity, and cash.

Our conditioned expectations, however, are disappointed, when the author suddenly reveals that Nat has plagiarized his script from an old Shirley Temple movie which has been playing on the Late Show. Since his boss has been watching this movie too, he loses his job, his girl, his reputation – everything, in fact, but his instinct for self-preservation, because he cons his way into an even better-paying position with another studio. This is perverse plotting, to say the least, but it is typical of the entire play. For within the shell of formula comedy, Mr. Alexander has constructed a deadly accurate, hilariously funny sociology of the entire entertainment industry and the voracious creatures who feed off it: the venal agents, the compulsive comedy writers, the pretentious teledramatists, the unscrupulous tycoons, the spineless packagers – the whole TV bestiary, in short, as seen by an entirely jaundiced but goodnatured zoologist.

Mr. Alexander is aided in this malicious exploration of the animal world by his own ability to raise wisecracks to the level of wit, by a talented cast, and by an extremely inventive director, Gene Saks, who reminds us again that, at its best, the American theater imagination is essentially comic. So does Robert Preston as the hero, full of roguish energy, snaking his body, shooting his cuffs, snapping his fingers, as he scoots along the stage characterizing himself ("I'm a man of great decision, I go either way"), his female collaborator ("I think she's an entire fag"), his city ("In Hollywood, no matter how warm it gets during the day, at night there's nothing to do"), and the credit-stealing on which American society is based ("Ben Casey does all the work; Dr. Zorba's head of the hospital"). Brilliant, too, are Jack Bittner as a "serious" TV dramatist who disguises his lack of talent by talking "dramaturgy" and the "raison d'être" of a script, Phil Leeds as a dour little man who has invented the laugh machine ("We shape the humor of the American television audience"), and Marian Winters as a loudmouthed, overbearing script writer ("her kids have two fathers and no mother"). As for Will Steven Armstrong's setting, it is a perfect representation of a "decorated" Hollywood apartment, complete with beige walls, fabric panels, Action paintings, and black patent leather chairs.

The subterranean route taken by Mr. Alexander in order to tell his story is the same underground railway traveled in the past by a number of Hollywood writers and directors. Forbidden by the nature of the mass media to introduce reality or truth into their work, they smuggled a personal commentary on American life into such conventional forms as Westerns, horror fantasies, and gangster movies. *Nobody Loves An Albatross* is the stage equivalent of an underground film, for it has been smuggled past the customs disguised as a conventional and trivial Broadway "hit." Mr. Alexander's expedient may seem a little desperate, but we live in

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desperate creative times – well, perhaps a little less desperate now that Broadway is supporting a formula comedy which is telling some of the truth.

For *Marathon 33*, the lush ANTA theater is converted into a squalid dance hall, with fading advertisements, flags, and campaign posters placed around an open stage, and a band platform in the back – when you enter the theater, you see actors pretending very hard to be unaware of your presence. Well, this is peep-hole realism, and it makes for the major interest of the evening: the evocation of that sleazy atmosphere in which these Depression endurance contests took place. June Havoc remembers her experience of these marathons accurately, and she convinces you that the contestants were as seedy, and the spectators as rude and heartless, as those she depicts on the stage. Whenever her documentary tries to develop into a play, however, it becomes rather embarassing: for Miss Havoc remembers her early self as a brave little trooper, selfless and inspirational. Julie Harris plays this part – Dainty June, the vaudevillian – as if the bloodhounds were nipping at her bottom. She is becoming the Little Orphan Annie of our stage, the cute kid sister who won't grow up. This is the artistic paralysis of a star, and I find it rather typical of the compromised intentions of the Actors Studio Theater Company that she is given a star's entrance. On the other hand, the rest of the company is convincingly hardbitten, and their dialogue often rings true. But it occurred to me: what if half the energy it took this group to be "natural" were channelled into an act of the imagination? We would then have a theater indeed.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

ART

Honors and Availabilities

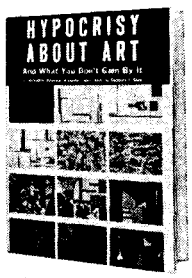
The inclusion of an artist, Andrew Wyeth, in the first list of Americans honored by the new Medal of Freedom, was a significant step back toward the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between art and government. Those relations, extremely fruitful for both parties, had been broken about a quarter of a century ago – long enough for everyone concerned to take it for granted that American art and American government have nothing to say to each other. It was not always thus.

As King Tut and Pope Julius II both knew, the normal relationship between government and art is that of employer to employee. It is only after that relationship has been extraordinarily happy in its results – as it was for Julius and his immediate successors – that the question of honors comes up. Medals, titles and pensions usually come after distinguished service to the employer. In our society, the gold watch is the symbol of such recognition.

It is customary to think Washington was interested in art only during the brief, hectic years of the New Deal: the accepted thought is that Harry Hopkins, charmed with getting this country eating again, failed to make the conventional distinction between citizens and artists and so provided murals and statuary along with leaf-raking and bridge-building in his works programs. The view is oversimplified. The New Deal public art projects, as distinct from the WPA program proper, were solidly within an art-and-government partnership that goes back to the original establishment of Washington as the capital of the young republic. Beginning with the Capitol, generations of artists have contributed to the embellishment of the federal government. The New Deal's post office murals around the country and sculpture and murals in the Federal Triangle were not a radical improvisation but the continuation of an old tradition. They turned out to be the end of that tradition when Dr. Win-the-War replaced Dr. New Deal. The last 25 years of artless government are a break with tradition. The medal to Andrew Wyeth may be the opening to the arts that will

Conjecturism
is the modern approach to art

At last, here's the tough-minded book about art.

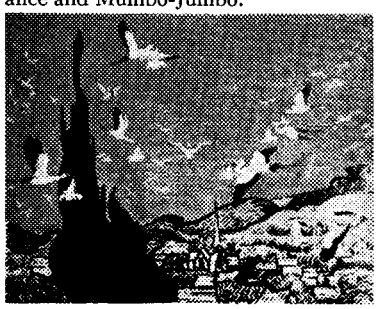


It's as different from the conventional sentimentalities on the subject as the Space Age is from the Dark Age.

The ancient myth about art being immortal is disposed of in the first chapter. (See the famous "stork cartoon" below).

And it is exactly because of this inevitable uncertainty that a completely new approach to art has become necessary – and is being widely adopted: CONJECTURISM.

It's the cautious, reasoned method, rather than the slap-dash, mystic method. It brings art up-to-date much as evolution brought Biology up-to-date – namely by abandoning the rigid certitude and turning towards the experienced but tentative Conjecture. In the moment that man attempts the eternal verdict in art, he defeats his own purpose as certainly as would the meteorologist who ventured beyond the immediate probabilities in his forecasting of the weather. It just can't be done without stepping openly into Clairvoyance and Mumbo-Jumbo.



It's the accident of what men possessing what talents arrive on earth in what quantities and at what times that usually decides which art works are considered "great", and not the qualities in the art works themselves. A sudden surge of "Type A" men, all possessing a special skill in creating (or in understanding) Type A art, will soon reduce that type of art to mediocrity no matter how superior it had previously been considered.

The book, HYPOCRISY ABOUT ART, by Theodore L. Shaw, does much more, however, than expound the principles of Conjecturism. With its 153 pages, its over 160 illustrations, many of them in full color, it demonstrates the practical application of it to specific works of art, and shows how the accuracy of man's conjectures can gradually be improved. Whether your purpose is to *create* art or to *understand* and *enjoy* it you will find the book highly interesting and profoundly revealing. The regular price is only $4.95, plus postage, but a postcard will bring it to you on ten days free trial, and as a special offer you will also get the famous pamphlet (usual price 50¢) THE GAG ABOUT ART BEING IMMORTAL. The pamphlet is yours as a gift, whether you decide to keep the large book or not. Or, if you prefer, you can remit 50¢ (check, stamps or coins) for the pamphlet alone. The 50¢ will count as a credit towards HYPOCRISY ABOUT ART if later, after sending for it on ten-days trial, you decide to keep it. Stuart Publications, Dept. RN-1, 330 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02116.

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revive this most useful tradition.

One sign of hope for such a development lies in the new President. It has been overlooked by some journalist-intellectuals that the new President actually buys paintings and buys them from American artists. As far as is known at the moment, the paintings he has bought are à la mode; they attempt to capture a small piece of America in each canvas. The stress is on small pieces of Texas. But the point is that actual purchase has taken place. This augurs well for the future of art with the new administration.

The choice of Andrew Wyeth as the first Freedom Medal recipient from art augurs well, too. It would have been easy to pick a venerable, non-controversial artist, Barnett Newman, Willem de Kooning, Mark Rothko or Adolph Gottlieb, any of the long established abstractionists now in their sixties. Wyeth, by contrast, has been independent and controversial, painting beautifully in a patient manner widely held to be theoretically and even morally impossible. Faithful to the inner necessities of his art and on their behalf unafraid to offend against official pieties, Wyeth, still in his mid-forties, has succeeded in broadening those pieties to accommodate his art.

After Wyeth, who? It seems to me and to other observers that if there is a single American artist worthy of governmental honor it is Ben Shahn. The Medal of Freedom awarded to Shahn would have some of the overtones of the Fermi award recently given to Dr. Oppenheimer, a belated governmental apology for idiocies perpetrated against genius. But it is the nature of Shahn's genius, rather than the circumstance of his bearing the brunt of militant ignorance, that recommends such an award. For one thing, he actually did work for the government during the last phase of the old tradition, as muralist and as photographer for the Farm Security Administration. More important, in work after work, for decades he has sought to discover, to enhance and to defend that American Freedom celebrated in the Medal. From Sacco and Vanzetti to the Japanese fishermen of the Lucky Dragon he has memorialized the victims of injustice and thus recalled the inflicting society to its basic commitments. He has done so in no pedestrian, socialist-realism, didactic way but by a poetic and personal use of the resources of abstraction. In addition, in an age when the artist is more or less professionally tongue-tied, Shahn has constantly engaged in a speaking and teaching effort, representing art to his society.

And after Shahn? There are a dozen or so artists each with his own claims to having enhanced in art some aspect of our land and people or having simply enriched our national life. But to find again the same kind of unique rightness that Shahn manifests, you have to pass from art production to the several trades and services that have grown up around art.

Art collecting as such is vitally necessary to the growth of art, yet it is hard to propose collecting in itself as meriting awards. The difference comes with the service collecting renders to that national purpose we sense, however vaguely, as one of the qualifications behind the Medal of Freedom. On those terms, Duncan and Marjorie Phillips come to mind immediately. The Phillips Collection in Washington, D. C., was the first American institutional recognition of modern art and has provided assistance and education for any number of young artists. Somehow at the Phillips an intensely held personal taste has become a national resource without at the same time becoming an impersonal establishment.

Lessing J. Rosenwald is the same kind of para-collector. At Jenkintown he has assembled one of the internationally great print cabinets, but he has never been content to sit there and look at his prints. For years he provided the opportunity for the continuing self-education of one of the great scholars in the field, Elizabeth Mongan. The two of them together spread far American enjoyment and knowledge of the print tradition. More recently, largely through the Print Council, Mr. Rosenwald has lent the same kind of active, organized support to contemporary American printmaking as he has for so long to the old masters.

But the supreme example in our time of creative appreciation of art is surely that of Alfred H. Barr, Jr., of the Museum of Modern Art. More than any single museum person or critic he is not only responsible for American and European appreciation of the School of Paris up to World War II, he is in some sense the creator of the main line of that school, with many of its variations, having immersed himself in its achievements, selected, analyzed and insistently brought them to the attention of the world. He is also responsible to a great degree for the transformation of the art museum from preserving storehouse to dynamic educator.

Art in America is in the debt of all these people and hence they are "availabilities" as they say in politics. But the greatest availability of all remains that living and promising American art, still unemployed, medals or no, by its government after 25 years of war and Cold War austerity.

FRANK GETLEIN

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Harald Malmgren *is an economist at the Institute for Defense Analyses.* Frank Getlein *is the author of a forthcoming book,* The Bite of the Print.

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RECORDS

Leinsdorf in Boston

Erich Leinsdorf has restored to the Boston Symphony the efficiency as a performing instrument that it lost in the years with Munch: it plays once more with precision and tonal beauty. But an orchestra doesn't exist for itself, and the conductor's job isn't merely to get it to play well. It exists as a medium for the performance of music; and his job is to use it to provide the public with effective performances of the orchestral literature. And I must report that the performance of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony by Leinsdorf and his orchestra on RCA LM- and LSC-2644 is not an an effective one. He is quoted on the record envelope as saying: "I think the title *Eroica* has misled people over the years, and I wish the very word 'Eroica' would disappear. . . . As for tempi, Beethoven's metronome markings are quite unreliable and . . . are simply impossible in some movements" – which I take to mean impossibly fast. But the title indicates Beethoven's idea of the character of the work; moreover, even if Leinsdorf rejects the metronome markings there are Beethoven's directions of *Allegro con brio* for the first movement, *Allegro vivace* for the Scherzo, *Allegro molto* for the finale; and these call for the energy and animation that are conspicuously absent from the movements as Leinsdorf conducts them; so that we get a first movement without *brio*, a Scherzo that is not *vivace*, a finale that is not *molto allegro*. As for the *Marcia Funebre*, it begins well, but with its changes of tempo – in the middle section in C major and the passage beginning at bar 209 – it doesn't have the impact it builds up when played in one tempo. Victor LM- and LSC-2673 have Mendelssohn's incidental music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which again the orchestra plays beautifully but the Overture, Scherzo and final song are made ineffective by their insufficient animation in Leinsdorf's tempos, and even the Nocturne loses by being taken more slowly than the composer's prescribed *Andante*.

The Philharmonia is another orchestra which operates with a beauty and refinement of tone and execution that one marvels at but doesn't always hear in effective performances of pieces of music. I am glad to be able to report that Klemperer's pacing of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5, on Angel 36141 (mono), makes the performance the best I know of on records today; and sorry to have to add that he paces the first two movements of Tchaikovsky's No. 4 effectively, on Angel 36134 (mono), but the last two lose by his insufficiently animated tempos. Much of Lorin Maazel's performance of the Musorgsky-Ravel *Pictures at an Exhibition*, on Angel 36132 (mono), is satisfying; but he doesn't give *Catacombs* the power it has in Toscanini's performance, and slows down the conclusion of the work for emphasis that is excessive. And Debussy's *L'Après-midi d'un faun* also suffers from excesses of tempo and sonority.

One of the most engaging of Dvorak's works, the Piano Quintet Op. 81, is performed very beautifully by Curzon and the Vienna Philharmonic Quartet on London CM-9357 (mono).

And two of Schumann's finest works for the piano, his *Davidsbündlertaenze* and *Carnaval*, are played by Charles Rosen on Epic LC-3869 (mono). The progression of the first work impresses me as being right in every detail of tempo and phrasing for the sense of the music; but in the second there are things that don't seem right in that way – *e.g.* the unusually slow tempo in parts of the *Florestan* episode, the caricature of the traditional Chopin rubato in the *Chopin* episode.

Deutsche Grammophon ARC-3204 and 73204 in the Archive Series have two of Bach's greatest organ works, the Toccata and Fugue in D minor and Toccata, Adagio and Fugue in C, in addition to the Toccatas and Fugues in D

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Nightmare Zone"

"But if the absurd and horrible deeds in Dallas have any lesson to teach, it is that extremes finally meet in the cloudy, nightmare zone of delusion. The paranoid, whether of the right or left, finally loses all sense of the situation except as a gigantic, personalized wrong to be avenged. Lee Harvey Oswald insisted 'I did not kill anyone.' This was a lie, but it was not an ordinary lie; it was the key to the personality of a singular kind of assassin. As the diabolical psychologist in Richard Condon's 'The Manchurian Candidate' says: '...The resenters, those men with cancer of the psyche, make the great assassins.'"

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(Dorian) and F, played well – except for the hurried Toccata in C – by Walcha. And ARC-3205 and 73205 have the great Fantasia and Fugue in G minor and Passacaglia, in addition to the Fantasia and Fugue in C minor and the Fantasias in G and C. The sound of the organ of St. Laurenskerk in Alkmaar is more clearly and cleanly defined in the mono versions.

Beethoven's regard for Cherubini, which was puzzling as long as I knew only the boring Symphony in D that Toscanini played, became understandable when I heard *Medea,* with its impressive vocal and orchestral writing, and the beautiful Requiem Mass in C minor that Toscanini recorded. The Requiem Mass in D minor that is excellently performed by Markevitch with the Czech Philharmonic Chorus and Orchestra on Deutsche Grammophon 18-795 and 138-795 is another work with pages that are eloquently expressive and others that are powerfully dramatic.

An earlier unfamiliar work, Lalande's *De Profundis,* which also has some beautiful and moving writing, is performed well by Alfred Deller with the Vienna Chamber Choir, a Vienna State Opera orchestra and good soloists on Vanguard BG-640 and BGS-5052. And the 21 motets from Palestrina's *The Song of Songs,* to texts from *The Song of Solomon,* which are sung superbly by the Prague Madrigal Choir on Vanguard BG-647 and BGS-5059, seem to me the most beautiful and moving music by Palestrina that I have heard.

The Oiseau-Lyre catalogue issued by London makes several valuable recordings available for the first time. OL-50163 (mono only) has the beautiful *Lachrimae* of Dowland, played well by the Philomusica of London under Thurston Dart's direction; OL-50182 (mono) has the engaging *Troisième Ordre (L'Impériale)* and *Quatrième Ordre (La Piémontoise)* from Couperin's *Les Nations,* played well by the little Jacobean Ensemble with Dart at the harpsichord; OL-255 (mono) has Dart's performances of keyboard pieces by Bull that include the magnificent *Pavan in the Second Tone* and *Queen Elizabeth's Pavan;* OL-50173 (mono only) has several fine songs of Purcell, sung well by Helen Watts, contralto, with Dart and Desmond Dupré, viola de gamba, but with two bland cantatas by Alessandro Scarlatti on the reverse side. And OL-50171 and SOL-60002 have several arias from Purcell's *Dioclesian* and *The Tempest,* sung well by William Herbert, tenor, and Hervey Alan, bass, but with unattractive vocal sound by Jennifer Vyvyan, soprano, in addition to several instrumental pieces – the fine Chacony in G minor, a newly discovered trumpet sonata and three excerpts from *The Virtuous Wife* – of which the first is played much too fast for its proper expressive effect, but the others are played well by the Philomusica under Anthony Lewis' direction and Dennis Egan, trumpet.

I like the performance of Monteverdi's Mass for 4 voices by the Old North Singers under John Fesperman's direction, on Cambridge 415 and 1415, better than the one by the Choir of the Carmelite Priory (London) under George Malcolm's direction – with its occasional exaggerated accentuations that seem strange to me – on London OL- and SOL-263. The Cambridge record offers in addition excerpts from Gibbon's Short Service; the other, the alternate Magnificat for 6 voices that Monteverdi composed for his Vespers of 1610.

The new group of arias from French operas that Callas sings on Angel 36147 (mono) employ for the most part the undamaged middle range of her voice, with its unusual and moving timbre; but occasionally one gets a high note – an A in the arias from *Iphigénie en Tauride* and *The Damnation of Faust,* a B and a C in the one from *The Pearl Fishers* – that is shrill and wobbly.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

Oswald: The Seed of Doubt

Sirs:

The first lesson taught the PhD candidate in history – as Staughton Lynd must well know – is that the historical method is not democratic: It does not assume the equal status of everything posing as evidence. If six contemporaries said one thing and a seventh said another, the historian does not neces-

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sarily accept the majority opinion; he assesses the credibility of each witness and the quality of his testimony. All this would seem too elementary to need saying to a professional historian – or even political scientist – were it not for the article on President Kennedy's assassination, in which Mr. Lynd and Mr. Minnis fall into the trap of assuming that everything that has appeared in print or on the TV screen is equally worthy of respect.

The basic fallacy of Minnis and Lynd might be called the fallacy of misplaced rationality. They cannot abide – indeed they are profoundly suspicious of – confusion and contradiction. This is particularly odd, since one would have supposed that their historical and political experience would have prepared them for such confusion and contradiction. A little patience, for example, would have spared them much of their agonizing over their "central problem": the fact, as they see it, that the President was wounded in the front of the neck. They carefully quote *The New York Times*, which in turn quoted the doctors at the Dallas hospital. But it should have been obvious that the statement of the Dallas doctors was less, not more, reliable for its having been made "immediately after the shooting," and that only an extensive examination and autopsy would elicit the real "facts." (Even after the most complete examination, however, we can expect a residue of confusion and contradiction; anything else would be cause for suspicion.) Related to the fallacy of misplaced rationality is that of misplaced precision. Starting with the estimates of the *New York Times* reporter that the car was traveling at about 25 miles an hour and that about five seconds elapsed from the first shot until the car reached the underpass, the authors go on to a series of fine calculations about the exact number of yards it must have covered in those five seconds, the number of yards it must have been from the turn, etc. Again, starting with a report in *The Atlanta Journal* that the housekeeper in Oswald's rooming house placed the time of Oswald's return to the house as about 12:45, they calculate that this would have been "just 14 minutes after the assassination"; and they continue: "Now if the taxicab was able to average 20 miles an hour, which we think would be a maximum, the taxi would have taken 12 minutes. This leaves Oswald with just two minutes. . . ." On the other hand, *The Washington Post* quoted the housekeeper as saying that "he came dashing in about 1:00," and the same reporter spoke of the "choked" traffic in the downtown area; in this case, "at an average speed of 10 miles an hour, it would have taken the taxi 24 minutes to cover the distance. . . ." 14 minutes, 12 minutes, 24 minutes – all deduced from the vaguest and most unreliable assumptions. (A different combination of assumptions from *The Atlanta Journal* and *Washington Post* would have resulted in more curious conclusions, such as that Oswald not only lacked the time to commit the assassination but also lacked the time to be in the taxi at all.)

One can go on to analyze other fallacies – the familiar *post hoc propter hoc*, for example. Is there not something suspicious, the authors ask, in the extraordinary accuracy of each of the shots? But why did they assume that each of the shots found its intended mark? It would appear that not three out of three but one out of three achieved its purpose (the first inflicting no serious injury and the second hitting Governor Connally). To know how extraordinarily successful or lucky an assassin is, one would have to know how often he was unsuccessful or unlucky. We are never told about the plots that totally miscarry.

Or there is the fallacy of misplaced expectations, or misconceived authorities. Why are the authors so surprised to find that *Time, Life, Newsweek*, even *The New York Times*, disagree as to the cost of the gun, the speed of the car, etc? Even if they were not professionally trained to mistrust newspaper and magazine reporting, they should have realized that the nature of the evidence and the way it was released offered ample opportunity for legitimate disagreement, and can surely be accounted for without the suggestion of a deliberate tampering with the evidence.

The final fatal flaw is the insidious insinuation that there is something sinister in the confusions and contradictions, that they suggest a conspiracy to suppress the truth. This is the "seed of

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doubt" sown throughout the article. And this accounts for such curious expressions as that describing the speed of the car: initially reported as 25 miles an hour, "now it has slowed" to 15; or that after the discovery of the rifle, "all sources began agreeing" upon the location of the gun; or that the White House, according to *The Dallas Morning News*, "has so far declined to say whether an autopsy was performed. . . ." Instead of protesting against the irresponsible leakage of partial information by the Dallas authorities, or against the irresponsible circulation of unsubstantiated rumors by journalists, or against the whole irresponsible system of make-news and mock-scoops, the authors have chosen to compound these evils by dignifying every rumor, by finding cause for suspicion not only in every irresponsible and unverified report but in every attempt of a responsible authority to withhold the evidence until it could be properly assembled and evaluated.

One can understand why copy-hungry journalists and publicity-hungry officials should be tempted to rush into print or hog the cameras. But why should a historian and political scientist? And why now, when the affair is finally being properly investigated and when we can only await the results of that investigation before engaging in intelligent controversy or sowing "seeds of doubt"?

Gertrude Himmelfarb
New York City

I am writing to commend the excellent article by Jack Minnis and Staughton Lynd. In a climate where Oswald is almost unanimously referred to as the assassin, where the evidence is being accommodated to the crime (evidence which has been, since Oswald's immediate apprehension, suspicious by its very weight), it is heartening and hopeful that you had the courage to publish these honest and valid questions.

The American public has been and is continuing to be conditioned to the fact that Oswald, and only Oswald, could be the assassin. Yet his recourse to non-violent methods when attacked in New Orleans, his concern over the spiral of hate as it affected the Negro, and his search, however misguided, for social justice just doesn't add up to the sum of a crazed assassin. Neither does the fact that he endured 16 hours of interrogation by the Dallas police, without counsel, steadfastly adhering to his innocence and not creating the impression of being dangerously disturbed, according to the medical report.

In the light of his previous "erratic" behavior, I quite agree with his mother's appraisal. If he had killed the President, he would have done so openly; as he did in applying for Soviet citizenship, defending Castro on television, and identifying with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, all unpopular causes which require a certain amount of courage in this country to espouse.

I hope that you will continue to pose relevant and responsible questions which, at least, will aid independent investigation by publishing, not only the facts amassed by the Dallas police and the FBI but, also, the facts and questions of those concerned in presenting a defense for a man now unable to defend himself.

Mary Waller Taylor
Rochester, New York

The authors, with respect to an alleged statement made by Mrs. Oswald, are careful to note that such statement would never have been admissible in a Texas court, thereby casting doubt upon the efficacy of some of the evidence against Oswald. One would think they would set a much higher standard for themselves. Yet they themselves make use of double, and even triple hearsay accounts contained in newspaper and magazine articles as the basis of their "doubts." Is it not more reasonable to conclude that newspaper and magazine accounts are notoriously inaccurate (a fact of which any layman will advise you) and hence the real doubt is only based upon a built-in inaccuracy in the reporting system itself. Why then not wait for the definitive "Warren Commission" report?

Central to the article is the "throat wound," but as I understand it, the findings of the pathologists, who performed an autopsy on President Kennedy on the night of November 22, are that the fatal bullet entered at the lower right back side of the head and a fragment of it was deflected and passed out the front of the throat, thereby creating the erroneous belief that the President had been shot from the front; while another bullet lodged in the President's shoulder, also having entered from the rear.

The real point of my criticism, however, is that you and the authors have rushed into print, prior to the time all the findings with respect to the President's assassination have been made public, and have thereby, through the sensationalizing of the account and the conjecture and wild surmise evidenced in the article added to the, if not created new, doubt and confusion in the minds of the public. In view of the pathologists' report mentioned above, the central structure of the article contained in the December 21 issue comes crashing to the ground, and the article is demonstrably nothing more than bad, extremely bad, reporting.

If the article can be criticized, what indeed can be said about "Commentary of an Eyewitness," with its clever insinuations about the viaduct and Ruby and "where was Ruby at 12:30," all again based upon the erroneous starting point of a front throat wound. What can it possibly all mean, except the insinuation that Oswald and Ruby *were* connected and that Oswald's death was part of a mysterious conspiracy in which both were engaged and which the authorities are trying to hush up. Do you – can you – possibly believe that?

Henry J. Shames
Los Angeles, Calif.

In reply:
Journalism is not history. We are often in the position of not having as many facts as we would like, but having to work with what we do have. In the instance of the assassination of Mr. Kennedy, all that could be done was to pinpoint some questions as then unresolved. We may have shared the widespread doubts of the public, but we did not create them. They arose out of the public's reading newspapers and watching television. Lynd and Minnis could and did suggest certain inconsistencies and omissions in the only information available – that offered by journalists – in the hope that this might help in the search for the truth. If the description of unresolved doubts is not the business of a journal of opinion, whose business is it? *The Editors*

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Civil Rights and Congress

Sirs:

The differences between Alexander M. Bickel ("A Look at the Future," January 4) and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. ("Kennedy's Rights Program," December 14) on what is and is not substantial in the Civil Rights Bill are matters of judgment; my own view is that the Rauh position from embattled Washington is lots closer to reality than the Bickel armchair strategy from New Haven. But little can be served by repeating Mr. Rauh's arguments.

However, in the course of answering Mr. Rauh, Mr. Bickel accuses the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights of delaying action on the bill and makes an incredibly blithe assumption about the ease with which a controversial piece of civil rights legislation can be handled by this Congress. These matters require a reply.

First, as to the questionable assumption. In discussing what he feels was the one substantive addition to the bill, the FEPC provision, Mr. Bickel says "an FEPC bill could have been offered separately, with the Administration's hearty approval, and without delaying the Omnibus Bill." In Washington, the civil rights groups are hard put to understand where Mr. Bickel got the notion. An FEPC bill was introduced separately, as he probably knows, and approved by the House Education and Labor Committee. But that raised the awful prospect of a House fight and Senate filibuster on the FEPC bill and another fight and filibuster on the omnibus bill. If Mr. Bickel is concerned about delay, as he and all of us should be, does he suppose that having to fight two full scale civil rights battles in one session would *not* have delayed passage of both bills? Worse yet, the Bickel strategy might well have endangered one or both bills; some Congressmen would certainly have felt that support for one bill satisfied their civil rights commitment and would have voted against the other.

That brings us to Mr. Bickel's charge that "their efforts [those of the groups in the Leadership Conference], after all, delayed the bill, making it practically impossible to obtain passage in the House before adjournment and thus impossible to start the Senate fight first thing in January." This is an oversimplified view of Congressional maneuvering and does us too much honor. We like to think the Leadership Conference has influence with Congress, but legislative delays are the prerogative of legislators. They were in this instance. All the Conference did was propose several important improvements in the bill: among them the addition of an FEPC provision (which was accomplished), authority to the Attorney General to protect citizens against police brutality (this was included in the bill in partial form) and a public accommodations provision broader than the one finally agreed upon in Committee. Any delay occasioned by the proposals came from men chronically opposed to civil rights legislation.

We in the Leadership Conference agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Rauh that the result of the changes made in the Committee has been a better bill and one whose passage, with all its limitations, will bring us a long step toward adequate Federal protection of the rights of all Americans.

Roy Wilkins
Washington, D. C.

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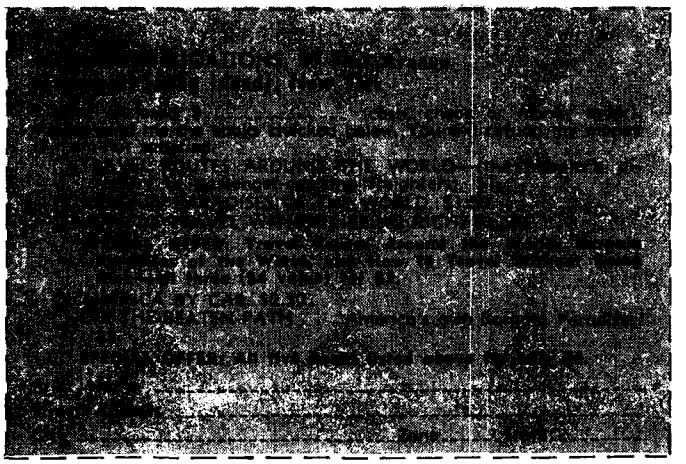

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